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AMERICAN CONCEPTIONS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT[1]

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MEETING as we do in Dayton, the largest city yet to conduct its municipal affairs on the city manager basis, it is fitting that we should endeavor to ascertain to what extent this new movement has progressed and succeeded. When the original municipal Program committee of the National Municipal League was considering the question of "a model charter," it had in mind the necessity for placing the affairs of a city in the hands of trained experts; but at that time it did not seem to be within the bounds of possibility that the time would come, at least within a generation, when public sentiment would be so far developed as to justify the recommendation that the council or legislative body should be given the duty of selecting the administrator. So it recommended the plan of a small council elected at large (to eliminate the unquestioned evils arising from the choice of legislators from small arbitrarily chosen districts), with a responsible mayor elected by the people.

Public opinion in municipal affairs, however, since 1900, has developed with great rapidity, and along eminently satisfactory lines, so that, to-day, there are seventy-six communities in the country having the city or commission manager form, of which group Dayton is the most important and most conspicuous example.

The results here have undoubtedly been most satisfactory, judging both from the expression of opinion on the part of citizens and the newspapers, and by the results of the recent primary and municipal elections. Elsewhere the new form has won for itself a large measure of deserved praise; but, at the same time, we hear comments which indicate an erroneous view as to the place which the system is to play in our municipal

[1] The annual review of the secretary of the National Municipal League, delivered at the 21st annual meeting, held in Dayton, November 17, 1915.

life. Some speak as if the form itself were responsible for all the improvement that has been accomplished; some as if its introduction would, *ipso facto*, result in a transformation of evil conditions. The city manager plan is a business-like one, and represents the latest and most approved ideas in the matter of municipal administration; but, unless accompanied by an active, organized, vigilant public sentiment, it will accomplish, of itself, but little more than the older forms.

An outgrowth of the widespread and popular commission government movement, the city manager idea represents all that is best in the commission system with the addition of a carefully chosen expert to look after the administration of the city's affairs, instead of three or five promiscuously chosen. Under it there is no longer any doubt as to who was responsible. There is no danger of inefficiency hiding itself behind a long list of elected officers no one of whom has sufficient authority or power to change conditions. If anything goes wrong in Dayton now, you know that the responsibility for it lies primarily at the door of the city manager, and behind him at the door of the council of five.

A characteristic of the older conception of American city government was to place entirely too much dependence upon the law and the form of government. Many still are for substituting statutes and constitutional provisions for the self-governing instinct. The newer conception involves the utilization of the most effective forms of government for the adequate expression of a sound public opinion; and the idea of a city manager has proved a popular one because it embodies just this thought.

There has been widespread comment upon the alleged failure of commission government in Nashville, Tennessee, and of its abandonment in Salem, Massachusetts.

Nashville for many years has been regarded as a community almost hopelessly indifferent to its municipal duties and obligations, and its citizens as hopelessly committed to a narrow, partisan consideration of public questions. A commission government was given to the city a few years ago at the request of the then existing administration, largely as a sop to the rising tide of discontent in the community; but the events of the past year have shown, conclusively, that something more than a change of form was needed in Nashville, namely: a change in the spirit of the people, and in the personnel of the men entrusted with the conduct of affairs. So the unpleasant notoriety which has come upon the city, while a surprise to many, was no surprise to those who knew the community and knew the situation. One might as well charge the murder of Senator Carmack to the old system of government in Nashville as to charge the breakdown of the recent administration to the commission form. The thing to be borne in mind is, that under the new commission law the people quickly detected the wrong-doing and mendacity of the administration and were able with equal quickness to apply the remedy;

and, therefore, the commission emerges from the Nashville experience justified, rather than condemned.

No thoughtful advocate of commission government has ever maintained that its mere existence would prevent corruption or maladministration: they have contended, always, that it must go hand in hand with an aroused and intelligent public sentiment. Nashville has been awakened—whether temporarily, or premanently, remains yet to be seen. Being awakened, it has been easier for the people to remedy the adverse conditions under its present simple, direct, responsible system, than under the preceding one of futile checks and balances.

Responsibility for right results in the public service should be put on the individual electors and upon the officials they choose. There was a time not long since when party organizations generally dictated and controlled the selection of nominees for every important office, and all that the electors were called upon to do, was to choose between the nominees of the rival parties. The successful one bore the brunt of the responsibilities. Now that party designations have been so generally eliminated from municipal elections (for they are in nearly every commission governed city, and in all the city manager cities), party responsibility has been almost entirely destroyed and the electors, themselves, have had to assume the burden of their own conduct. In other words, the old idea of party government in city affairs and of checks and balances is yielding to the modern conception of the direct, individual responsibility of the elector.

Galveston, properly regarded as the home of the modern commission idea, has suffered another serious disaster during the past year, and its commission has shown its trustworthiness. In the words of a recent editorial: "Disasters come to cities, as they have come to Galveston, through natural causes, and to Nashville because of incompetence as a result not of governmental forms, but of citizenship neglect. Often it takes a disaster of magnitude to arouse the people to the action which will save them. That is what happened at Galveston; and they made the business of the city their business, and they brought to the public service the best available men. These latter did everything that was expected of them, as men always do under the spur of a great popular interest. As a consequence, the city was restored, and prospers, as any city always will when so officered."

It has not needed disaster, however, to bring home to other cities the need for a change; so to-day we have 465 cities operating under the commission form and 76 others have a city manager or have provided for one. There has been no falling off, except in the single case of Salem, which, recently having the opportunity to adopt a new form of government, chose to try another change, rather than patiently work out its salvation, because the people still place their dependence upon the law

rather than upon their own shoulders. No doubt Salem will be cited, by those to whom the wish is father to the thought, as evidence of a breakdown of commission government. It is simply an evidence of the desire of the people to substitute law for the self-governing instinct.

An interesting development of the city manager movement has been the increased demand for experts in municipal administration, and the accompanying demand for the adequate education of those experts; and gradually, there is emerging the idea of a profession of city administration. Judging from the developments of the past fifteen years, one would seem to be justified in prophesying the early establishment of this new profession upon a strong, firm basis of public opinion and public demand.

Of the making of laws there seems to be no end. Former Senator Root, in a recent address, stated that during a period of ten years there had been enacted, by the various lawmaking bodies of the country, upwards of 62,014 laws. One result of this has been to place dependence on law, rather than upon individual action. Another is, it makes a nation of lawbreakers: mostly unconscious, but none the less disastrous in the long run. A nation depending on laws has but a sorry support. We cannot expect good and efficient government to follow from the mere passage of law; and those who are interested in the redemption of American cities and their establishment on a high standard of honesty, integrity and efficiency, must work to found them on public spirit and public institutions. Reform, in the minds of many, lies in the enactment of their fads into law and imposing them upon the whole community. The wise leader, however, seeks first to arouse the people to a sense of the importance of municipal government as a factor in their lives and the lives of the community and of their personal responsibility for it; then to provide proper tools for its expression.

This desire to substitute law for public sentiment and individual responsibility, has been particularly noticeable in the matter of the civil service laws. Often those interested in eliminating political and religious considerations from appointment to office, and of making of the public service a real instrument of public good and efficiency, have felt that the whole problem was solved when satisfactory laws were enacted. We have only to look around us on any side to see that the best laws, in the hands of designing men, may be made to thwart every public sentiment which gave them birth, unless that public sentiment is eternally vigilant and insistent. Civil service reformers must be on their guard constantly to see that the demand for honest and efficient government shows no sign of lessening.

I have always felt a very strong sympathy with the thought of the late Carl Schurz, who declared that he would rather have the laws made by Lucifer and executed by Gabriel, than made by Gabriel and executed by Lucifer. In other words, the first object of all organizations like

this league and the National civil service reform league must be to create sound, solid, substantial sentiment in favor of efficient, democratic government, and then help guide that sentiment, when created, along sound lines.

For years the attention of Americans has been directed to the efficiency of German cities, and we have marvelled at the wonderful achievements of administration there; but the lesson has not been a persuasive one to date, because the situations in Germany and this country are so different. There, efficient government is given rather as a gift from an overlord, than as the outworking of the desires and aspirations of the people themselves. The problem before us, in this country, is to attain efficiency through the direct action of the whole electorate, and that electorate one that is being placed on an ever broader foundation of suffrage.

As part and parcel of the development of the democratic conception of municipal government, the people must be educated. In a recent letter, a well-known Daytonian said that as a result of the activities of the bureau of municipal research, and of the co-operation accorded them by the progressive citizens of Dayton, the city hall and its doings had been transferred from the back pages of the newspapers to the front pages. This is a pregnant statement, and shows what is essentially needed.

One of the significant developments of the administration in Philadelphia now closing, has been the effectiveness with which the department of public works has made known its activities and achievements. The latest report of the director was introduced by the following pregnant paragraph:

"Dear reader: Please forget that this is a public document. Read it rather as a study in home-making as the result of one year of effort to make of Philadelphia the best place in the world in which to live. This report of the director of public works to the mayor of the city is really a story of the stewardship of 4,000 city employes working for the other 1,600,000 citizens."

In his letter transmitting this report the director said:

"With the increasing size of our undertakings and their growing complexity, the difficulty of visualizing the purposes and processes of government, federal, state and municipal, is greatly increasing. I feel very strongly that unless you can make people understand what you are doing, the waste is prohibitive; and, on the contrary, that if the people can be made to understand your plans and the method by which you hope to accomplish them, and these plans are right, the means will be forthcoming.

"The last three or four years the engineers connected with this department have become a unit in their attitude towards this question. We all started in with the disposition to feel that advertising as such was almost unprofessional. We have now come around to the point where we are

struggling to devise new and more comprehensive methods by which we might expose the operations of this department to the public view as completely as possible. Because only in this way do we feel that the great ends of municipal administration, with more particular reference to the engineering, can be accomplished."

Democracy demands publicity; and he who solves the problem of making plain the difficulties of municipal administration and making clear the transactions of the ordinary daily work of great city departments, will have made a contribution of great value.

Under the present administration in New York City, which has made many new records, as has the present administration in Philadelphia, much important work is being done for the welfare of the city employes. In the first place, a lunch-room in the municipal building has been provided for the women employes of the city. It is self-supporting, and run under the supervision of a committee of women organized and selected by the women themselves. This is the first attempt, I believe, of any city to supply a convenience that is now only supplied by great corporations.

An employers' conference committee has been organized. This committee is representative of both the classified and unclassified service, and consists of representatives chosen directly by the employes and a representative chosen by the heads of departments. It is hoped that a great deal will be accomplished by this conference committee to bring about a better relation and understanding between the administration and its employes.

The semi-monthly payment of salaries has been established in a number of the departments where the consensus shows that the majority were in favor of making the change. Those changes have been advocated by the various civil service papers, particularly for the police and fire departments, on the plea that it will save a great many city employes from applying to loan-sharks and loan agencies for funds to carry them through the month.

The comptroller has also established a system of having on each payday an amount of cash ready in the paymaster's office, sufficient to pay off a large majority of the checks. This has been found a great convenience by the employes who formerly had to change their checks at different stores and brought men to saloons, when it invariably happened that a certain expenditure had to be made in order to get the desired accommodation. The department of health has instituted a system of periodical physical examination of employes. I might proceed with the inventory, all to the end, however, of showing that the city administration cares—cares for the people who are working with it in the public behalf.

Moreover, we see that the city governments throughout the country are coming to care for the people, in a way that was unthought of and

unheard of a generation ago. It is to be found in the extension of facilities for wholesome outdoor recreation; of educational facilities for those whose schooldays are necessarily limited; for the upbuilding of the individual in health and strength and power.

For instance, municipalities are considering its relation to its food-supply. The report of the National Municipal League's committee on this subject abounds with instances of what is being done along these lines. The mayor of Cleveland, in a recent article, showed how the police were intimately related to the social problems, and how they could be utilized in the solution of those problems, and in highly important preventive work. The administration of the present police commissioner in New York has been characterized not only by increased efficiency along administrative lines, but by the utilization of the police in finding employment and in saving men, women and children from dangerous and degrading surroundings.

The interest of the city in better housing is growing, not so rapidly as the more zealous of us would wish, but, nevertheless, it *is* growing. Infant life protection is another topic which is coming in for definite, and effective work at the hands of city officials. Health exhibitions are increasing in number; and so the list might be continued. All to show that a new conception of municipal life is taking hold of the American people—the conception of the utilization of the great powers of government to overcome the evil effects of environment and heredity and adverse conditions generally. Not through the law as such, but through the law as representing the consensus of public opinion.

As a part of this developing conception, we find the idea of co-operation is getting a stronger hold upon the people. The newly organized women's city club of Cincinnati has declared its purpose to be: "To bring together women interested in promoting the welfare of the city; to co-ordinate and render more effective the organized social and civic activities in which they are engaged; to extend the knowledge of public affairs; to aid in improving civic conditions; and to assist in arousing an increased sense of social responsibility for the safeguarding of the home, the maintenance of good government, and the ennobling of that larger home of all—the city."

This idea of co-operation is gaining a foothold not only among the citizens, but among the officials as I have more than once pointed out, and to-day important work in the realm of municipal government is being done by the city managers association state leagues of officials, like the mayors conference of New York, and the leagues of cities in California, Iowa, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, to mention only a few of a very considerable number of such bodies.

These organizations believe in consultation. As John Mitchel said on one occasion, "I believe it is better to talk for a week than to strike

for a year." It is an essential to effective work and to real advance. When we find the officials of a community coming together for consultation and advice; and the citizens getting together for the same purpose; and then the citizens and the officials coming together for joint conference, then a new element of great promise has been introduced.

The old conception of municipal reform was that every non-officeholder was the enemy of every officeholder. So-called reform meetings were characterized by the vituperation of those who were in office; and the slogan of campaigns was, "Turn the rascals out!"—the rascals always being those opposed to us who were in office.

This cry is seldom heard now. The newer idea represented by the bureau of municipal research is to take information of wrongdoing directly to those responsible and who can change them, with the hope that the remedy will be applied quickly and directly, and with the minimum of publicity. If those responsible are unwilling to accept such co-operation, then the bright sunlight of publicity must be turned on the situation, in order that it may be cleansed and purified. The remarkable success attending the work of the bureaus of municipal research of the various communities of this country, has been due largely to the prosecution of this policy.

The new conception involves the belief that "My fellow-citizen is my neighbor"; that we must think communally. Alexander Hamilton, in one of his speeches, said: "Let us think continentally." Now, we have come to do that to a marked degree; but we must also think communally. We must think of the community interests and the community life; and these various organizations, these various efforts at co-operation, these various conferences to which I have referred, all tend to make the people think communally and to promote a sound community life.

In these reviews I have often spoken of the vital relation existing between the business organizations and the welfare of the community. No small part of the success of the city manager form in Dayton has been due to the initiative and unstinted co-operation of the business organization known as the Greater Dayton association; but we need something more than business organizations: we need community organizations, in which men come together not as business men, not as laboring men, not as clergymen, not as lawyers, but as citizens of the community; nor must the women be left out; and those organizations to-day which are dealing most successfully with civic problems, are those which are emphasizing this phase. Business must have a human basis; the community must have a human basis; humanity is the biggest idea which we can possibly grasp, and it is at the basis of the greatest conception of municipal life.

There was a time when these annual reviews dealt with the ebb and flow of the political campaigns. They formed a chronicle of successes

in one list of cities and of reverses in another. To-day less attention is given to the political campaigns, because they are only incidentally interesting; but surface manifestations. The league is interested in constructive policies; it is interested in the big movements; it is interested in developing an adequate conception of municipal life and municipal responsibility. The campaigns of the past year have been interesting, in some cases most dramatic; but the important thing that stands out from all of them is the growth of the movement for the elimination of party designations and, in most places, of party considerations in municipal elections; even though there may be serious recessions here and there.

There are some events, like the overwhelming defeat of the proposed New York constitution, which seem to call for comment. That instrument was a very interesting document; along certain lines it represented a very great advance; but its framers made the mistake of introducing too many reforms at one time in a given instrument, without preparedness. In other words, a constitution must embody the public sentiment of the community at the time of its adoption. "Nor can one hope to substitute a philosopher's stone of a constitution," to use the words of the late Governor Russell, "for the self-governing instinct of the community." Many believe in the initiative and the referendum because they represent an every day way of incorporating in the fundamental law the agreements of the community upon a given issue.

This consideration naturally brings us to civic education; and here we are in a field where the developments have been many, interesting and encouraging: "Civics for young Americans" and "civics for new Americans" are among the slogans of the new movement. There was a time when the people did think continentally first, and nearly always: now they are thinking continentally, and locally as well; and they are beginning to see that it is the simple duty that prepares for the larger one. If one cannot lay claim to good habits in small matters, how can one expect them in larger things? And so we find such movements as that originated by the National Municipal League, now carried on by the bureau of education at Washington, meeting with popular acceptance. The "Americanization work," as it is happily called, of the national immigration committee, is another phase of the same movement.

So far, this review has dealt mainly with conceptions dealing with governmental reform, public sentiment and education. There is another movement, however, which calls for attention in any consideration of conceptions of American municipal government; and that is, the movement popularly known as city planning, a phrase much more often used than defined. There was a time when it was practically a scheme for the city beautiful; but now it has a much richer and a much more comprehensive meaning. Its development has been in accordance with the growth of the movement to place our cities upon a more substantial,

a more respectable, a more useful basis. Henry R. Aldridge, the secretary of the English national housing and town planning council, and a veteran in the cause of city planning, declares in his new book ("A Case for Town Planning") that "the phrase should come to clearheaded administrators as an appeal for the substitution of order in the place of chaos in city growth. To those members of municipal committees responsible for the guardianship of the health of the population, the appeal would be that of the wisdom of prevention as compared with the wastefulness of cure. To those responsible for the wise administration of municipal revenues, the appeal is strong and direct. They have witnessed for many years the waste of the taxpayers' money on school-house schemes, on road-widening schemes and on many other schemes which never would have been necessary at all if town-planning care and foresight had been exercised. To them the case for town-planning on the financial side is overwhelming: they realize that the sick man is a burden to the community, while the healthy man is an asset: the one has to be carried, the other carries his own burdens and helps to carry the burdens of others."

Here we have another phase of the new conception of municipal life; that is, the obligation resting upon the community to develop healthy men, women and children—healthy physically, healthy morally and healthy spiritually; and the amount of thought and time and attention given to promoting these ends during the past decade is one of the big, encouraging factors in American history.

Naturally, the people of this country are still very much concerned about the great European war. A year ago, although the war had made but little difference with the functioning of the city, there was a strong feeling of fear on the part of a very considerable number of publicists and workers that the foundations of our municipal life would be overthrown. The year has been a sobering one, bringing to us anew our duties and responsibilities, and, above all, the fundamental necessity for building our cities upon a firmer basis than ever before. While there have been some interferences on account of the war, especially with financial arrangements, due to the timidity of money, those difficulties are disappearing. In passing, it is interesting to note, the war has had, on the whole, a rather salutary effect upon financial undertakings: in fact, cities, like individuals, have been made more thoughtful on such matters, and there have been fewer rash undertakings, and rather more thought has been given than previously; and a number of cities, notably New York, have been compelled, by the pressure of the situation, to reorganize their whole financial system upon a more substantial, businesslike and scientific basis; so that in some aspects of the situation the war has been decidedly beneficial—beneficial in that it has compelled us to take account of our stock, to see where we stand, and whither we are

tending, and to reorganize many of our methods. Over and above that, it has caused a spiritual awakening which is sure to have a wide-spread effect. Public life is sure to be purer and, finally—because of the stress and storm of this period, will be strengthened and developed.

In closing, may I say that the old conception of our municipal life and government involved imposed good government—a gift from the gods, from the overlords, or from the state legislature; the new conception involves the adoption and working out of comprehensive plans by the people themselves. "The test of good citizenship," to quote from Dr. James' recently issued "Handbook of Civic Improvement," "lies in the existence of an intelligent, *continuing* interest in questions of good city government." The hope of American cities lies in the existence of a strong, continuing, vigilant, democratic sentiment, manifesting itself in public life and in the aspirations of the American people to achieve the highest good for the greatest number through definite community effort.

COMING OF AGE:

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN TWENTY-ONE YEARS

BY WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE[1]

Richmond, Ind.

THE National Municipal League is twenty-one years old. Let us look back over this period of adolescence and see what has happened to the American cities which have been the subjects of our study.

The Hon. Elihu Root, in his memorable address on the 30th of August to the New York constitutional convention, used the following language in reference to our municipal progress:

"The governments of our cities! Why, twenty years ago, when James Bryce wrote his 'American Commonwealth,' the government of American cities was a by-word and a shame for Americans all over the world. Heaven be thanked, the government of our cities has now gone far toward redeeming itself and us from that disgrace. The government of American cities to-day is in the main far superior to the government of American states. I challenge contradiction to that statement."

We can have no better picture of the condition of American municipalities at the time the National Municipal League was born than is found in the pages of Mr. Bryce. There has never been any higher authority on the subject of American institutions. Appreciative of all that was good, and just in his condemnation of all that was bad, he gave us a more correct estimate of ourselves than any American could have done. His great work was published in 1888 only a few short years before the National Municipal League was born. The changes during that period were not vital nor extensive so that Bryce's picture of American municipalities is an accurate portrait of what they were when we began our career. What does he say?

"There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States. The deficiencies of the national government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the state government are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption and mismanagement, which mark the administrations of most of the great cities." And even in the smaller ones he adds that it needs no microscope to note the results of the growth of poisonous germs.

[1]Annual address of the President of the National Municipal League, Dayton, Ohio, November 17, 1915.

Mr. Bryce cites a number of authorities; for instance, the report of a commission appointed to devise a plan for the government of the cities in the state of New York, a commission of which William M. Evarts was chairman. This report showed the growth of the debt of the city of New York from eighteen millions in 1860 to 113 millions in 1876 and the commissioners say of this debt: "It was abundantly sufficient for the construction of all the public works of a great metropolis for a century to come, and to have adorned it besides with the splendors of architecture and art. Instead of this, the wharves and piers are for the most part temporary and perishable structures; the streets are poorly paved; the sewers in great measure imperfect, insufficient, and in bad order; the public buildings shabby and inadequate. . . . In truth, the larger part of the city debt represents a vast aggregate of moneys wasted, embezzled, or misapplied."

The commissioners attribute these evils to the following causes:

First, Incompetent and unfaithful officers, and they give a picture of the elaborate systems of depredation which under the name of city government have, from time to time, afflicted our principal cities and they assert that more than one-half of all the present city debts were the direct results of intentional and corrupt misrule.

The second cause of these evils was declared to be the introduction of state and national politics into municipal affairs and this, as well as the incompetency and unfaithfulness of city officers, Mr. Bryce believed to be largely due to the spoils system whereby the whole machinery of party government was made to serve the getting and keeping of places.

The third cause of the evils stated by the commissioners was the assumption by the legislature of the direct control of local affairs whereby the wishes of the citizens were liable to be overruled by the votes of legislators living in distant parts of the state.

Mr. Bryce insists that besides the three causes upon which the commissioners dwell there was also a defect in the structure of municipal governments themselves and a want of method for fixing public responsibility, "If the mayor jobs his patronage he can throw a large part of the blame on the aldermen or other confirming council, alleging that he would have selected better men could he have hoped that the aldermen would approve his selection. If he has failed to keep the departments up to their work, he may argue that the city legislature hampered him and would not pass the requisite ordinances. Each house of a two-chambered legislature can excuse itself by pointing to the action of the other, or of its own committees, and among the numerous members of the chambers responsibility is so much divided as to cease to come forcibly home to any one. . . . The mere multiplication of elective posts distracted the attention of the people, and deprived the voting at the polls of its efficiency as a means of reproof or commendation."

How was it our cities had fallen into such a deplorable state? It was not because democracy was a failure, for our national and state governments were fulfilling their missions reasonably well. It was rather because the principal interest of our citizens had been confined to national and state affairs and cities had been neglected. Our cities did not develop like those of the old world. They were not the original centres of our political activities. In Greece during her golden age, in Italy during the Renaissance, indeed all over Europe, during and since the Middle Ages, the city has been often the most important political unit. It was there that civic life and the germs of liberty first found their development. In America, the colony (succeeded by the state) was the first political unit and then the union of states in the federal government. Ours was at first almost purely an agricultural country. The cities were unimportant. In 1820 there were but thirteen towns of more than 8000 inhabitants and their combined population was less than 5 per cent of that of the country. Even in 1850, the combined population was only about 12½ per cent that of the nation at large. Cities were regarded as mere creatures of the states. They did not govern themselves, they were governed, and little interest was aroused in their local affairs. The result was that even after the cities increased enormously in population and multiplied in number, nothing but haphazard and temporizing methods were applied to their affairs. Just before and during the Civil War the interest in national questions was so intense and absorbing that the great bulk of the people hardly considered municipal affairs at all. This neglect of our cities continued in measure down to the beginning of the present century. As Mr. Horace Deming said in his article on our municipal program as late as 1901: "There has been in the popular mind no concept of the city as government. No city has had adequate power of local government."

A city charter he described as a congeries of session laws covering perhaps hundreds of pages and changed at every session of the legislature. But there was a growing discontent among the people in our cities and a desire to assert their rights of independence. Repeated efforts began to be made to free the city from its helpless bondage to the legislature, to clothe it with power to manage its affairs without outside aid, and finally in some places even to present outside authority from interfering with any purely local city policy.

It was while our cities were in this condition that the National Municipal League, after gathering information for three years in respect to municipal conditions and the causes of them appointed a committee in May, 1897, to report on the feasibility of a municipal program. Two years later a model charter and proposed constitutional amendments were submitted and adopted by the league. The fundamental principle of this municipal program was, as stated by Mr. Deming, chairman of

the committee: "ample power in the city to conduct the local government without possibility of outside assistance or of outside interference, save by such supervision of a central state administrative authority as might be necessary to enforce a state law applicable alike to all the cities or to all the inhabitants of the state."

Since our last municipal program there have been many improvements in city governments. They are much more free from the control of national parties than in 1899. Independent candidates have often defeated the strict party nominees. "Golden Rule" Jones was elected mayor of Toledo, in that year, defeating the candidates of the old parties by a vote larger than both. Then we have Mayor Low of New York, Tom Johnson of Cleveland, Guthrie of Pittsburgh, Brand Whitlock in Toledo, Mayor Hunt of Cincinnati, Mayor Baker of Cleveland and many others who represented the independent rather than the party vote.

City elections are commonly held apart from state and national elections and the widespread adoption of the non-partisan ballot is an indication that our people are gradually divorcing city affairs from those of the state and nation. The party convention system of making nominations is no longer generally followed. In great numbers of our cities nominations are made on petition or in open primaries or by a preferential ballot without party designations and Ashtabula, Ohio, has even adopted the Hare system of proportional representation. The count of votes has been successfully made and the men elected are representative men.

Better representation and greater control by the public has also been obtained in large numbers of commission and manager governed cities and in some others by fixing more definite responsibility upon one person, or upon a small group, in place of dividing it among many, and also by such measures as the initiative, referendum and recall. It may be too early to pronounce conclusively upon the effect of this latter kind of control but in the case of the recall at least it would seem that in Los Angeles, the first and largest city which has adopted it, as well as in many other cities, it has worked well, and the fact that it has been seldom used may indicate, not that it is useless, but that it has performed an admirable function in restraining city officials from such action as leads the people to invoke it.

Another evidence of improvement in municipal government is the application of civil service methods of appointment to subordinate places. This has greatly diminished the evil of patronage and secured greater permanency in city employments although the civil service provisions have often been quite inadequate (as they are here in Dayton) and as yet the highest and most important places are outside the civil service rules although these rules could well be applied to them.

The tendency to employ experts in city governments is gaining ground but the progress is slow. In the larger cities a certain number of experts

is a necessity. The manager form of city government is essentially a government by experts. But expert administration is not yet the rule. In commission cities where the heads of departments are elected by the people, government by experts is rarely possible, and the commission cities are very numerous.

Certain other scientific methods are making headway. In many places we have city budgets with detailed estimates by the chief administrative officer. A uniform system of municipal accounting by which alone a city's financial condition can be shown in comparison with other cities is now required in many states by general law.

Uniform municipal accounting is only one matter in which the state is beginning to exercise administrative rather than legislative control over our cities. Another more important instance is the control exercised by public service commissions over municipal utilities. It is still a mooted question how far state commissions ought to interfere with a city's control over its own utilities. Still state supervision to some extent is necessary especially in regard to those utilities which extend beyond the limits of the city or which connect it with other cities or other parts of the state.

This kind of state control is a natural preliminary to administrative supervision in other particulars where such supervision is necessary to carry out definite lines of state policy affecting all the cities of the state. Thus in Massachusetts the state civil service commission exercises direct control over appointments in the classified service of the cities. In New York it exercises supervisory authority over the various municipal civil service commissions.

This is the way that the *Regierung*, or provincial committee, exercises a certain control over Prussian cities in carrying out the general policies of the Prussian government. These supervisory organizations have a distinct value where they do not interfere too much with home rule. One of the most important things that still lies before us for consideration, is the character, the extent, and the methods of enforcement of this central supervisory jurisdiction.

There has been no subject in which the tendency of the times more clearly appears than in the drift toward home rule. Ever since Missouri gave to St. Louis a limited power to frame its own charter, this movement has been advancing. California, Washington, Minnesota, Colorado, Oklahoma, Michigan, Oregon, in fact more than a dozen states have adopted it, among the last being the state of Ohio.

And the tendency in this home rule movement has been to give cities not only the power to organize as they will but also the power to perform services and to assume duties toward the public which used to be quite outside the province of municipalities. More and more are cities absorbing both the ownership and operation of public utilities. Thus San Fran-

cisco and other important cities own and operate their street railways. New York has a municipal ferry. The ownership and operation of gas-works, water-works, electric plants, etc., are becoming very common and the field is constantly growing wider.

Then again many cities own utilities which they lease to others. Some of the great subways are illustrations. The prejudice which formerly existed against municipal ownership or operation seems to be dying out.

Even where the city neither owns nor operates its utilities it assumes a much more strict and detailed supervision over them than heretofore. It is no longer easy for private corporations to procure perpetual franchises or to secure for nothing the right to use the streets, a right which at once becomes immensely valuable. The field of the city exploiter and the council briber in securing such franchises is more limited than in earlier times. Franchises are given for shorter terms or they are indeterminate with the right of the city to purchase. In some cities there are utility commissions to protect the interests of the public and many other safeguards are beginning to be imposed. The same may be said of added restrictions upon the issuing of municipal bonds, which in some cases require a ratification by the people by means of the referendum.

There are many other illustrations of progress. City libraries are becoming common. City planning, to adapt the municipality to its future growth, is beginning to take the place of the haphazard methods of development which used to prevail. It is true that the city of Washington set us the example more than a century ago but this example has been little followed until recent years. Then too the project of using the school-houses and other public buildings as social centres is now beginning to make its way in public approval.

There is also some gain in the personnel of those who administer city affairs although the reform in this respect is of the most mottled and varied character. The forms of corruption now are not quite so crude as in earlier days but there is still a great deal of it.

Bald, naked bribery is still common, as in San Francisco, Peoria, and Milwaukee, as well as in Pittsburgh, where over sixty councilmen were indicted for this offense. Frauds, forgeries and the purchase of votes in municipal elections are still of frequent occurrence. The entire city government of Louisville was thrown out by the Supreme Court on account of crimes committed at the election of 1903. The mayor of Terre Haute is in the federal penitentiary to-day for crimes committed in a recent election in that city. Over 120 men were indicted this year for election frauds in Indianapolis and although the mayor and the state boss were acquitted, there being no sufficient evidence against them, the fact that crimes were committed in this election is undoubted, for many have pleaded guilty. In smaller cities of Indiana, Muncie, Newcastle

and elsewhere there are many charges of corruption and some prosecutions.

Even in Boston, the president of the common council was convicted and sentenced for two years for complicity in the violation of an ordinance appropriating expenditures in which he was directly interested. In Chicago, police Inspector McCann was convicted of taking bribes for protecting disreputable resorts as part of a widespread system for giving immunity to law breakers. In Lawrence, Mass., the mayor was sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for conspiracy to bribe city officials and three other officers were convicted on similar charges. These are merely a few illustrations out of a much larger number.

In many of our cities there have been successive waves of reform and reaction. In New York the election of Mayor Low was proof of a non-partisan effort for better government yet he was soon succeeded by a Tammany politician.

In St. Louis after the purging of the city following the prosecutions of Joseph W. Folk, there was again a back-sliding with much scandal and corruption. After an efficient and progressive administration of the affairs of Pittsburgh under Mayor Guthrie, he was succeeded by a reactionary and then by another man of the same stripe and the administration of that city leaves much to be desired to-day.

Great reform waves have swept over Chicago and yet the old-fashioned partisan and political system has come back again in the election of Mayor Thompson followed by much injury to the excellent civil service system which existed there and by many other abuses.

These things show that it is much easier to get a good city administration on the heels of a reform wave then it is to hold on to it permanently. Yet the city never slips back again into quite so bad a condition as it was in before. The waves advance and recede but the tide still slowly rises. The recent Tammany mayors of New York, McClellan and Gaynor, were very much better men than the earlier ones such as VanWyck or Grant. When the Socialist governments of Milwaukee and Schenectady which introduced important reforms had to give way to a combination of both of the old parties, still the cities did not fall back into as bad a condition as they were in when the reform administration began. And now the Socialist mayor of Schenectady has been elected again.

Still the advance has been so slow that our municipal development has not by any means kept pace with our splendid industrial development. The reason is not hard to find. We have had our minds on our business a great deal more than on our municipal problems. Our slow progress has had the same cause as that which led to the original degradation of our cities. Our chief interests were elsewhere.

The principle of the short ballot so vital to intelligent elections has also made a certain progress. It is applied most successfully in commis-

sion- and manager-governed cities where often the commissioners are the only elective officers. But in many cities enormous ballots are still used, like those in Chicago, yards in length and containing the names of hundreds of candidates. Moreover, the proposed constitutional amendment in New York which had the short ballot as one of its prominent features was defeated by a tremendous majority.

To sum up the whole matter we must realize that although we have made distinct progress along many important lines, yet the things accomplished are but the beginning of that which still remains to be done.

In the words of Mr. Bryce before the New York city club in 1911: "In nearly all the cities the sky is brighter, the light is stronger, a new spirit is rising. The progress you may expect to see in the elevation and purification of your city government within the next twenty or thirty years may well prove to be greater and more enduring than even that which the last forty years have seen."

And what is the outlook at this moment? Are we moving forward or backward? War time is a reactionary period. There is no doubt that our Civil War injured our city governments, not only during its progress but for some time afterwards. In a world where the law of force prevails, moral ideas and plans for social betterment are apt to be neglected. The present European struggle has probably set back the civilization of the world for at least a generation and the influence of this reaction is bound to be felt everywhere. We in America, who as yet are outside the circles of the whirlpool, have not of course felt its full effect, and municipal affairs, which have less to do with war than national affairs, will be less affected even should we become involved in the struggle. Up to the present time the tendency of municipal reform is still forward. Additional cities are accepting new and better forms of government and, if we may except Chicago, administration is, in the main, improving. But it is not certain how long this will last. The defeat of suffrage and of the New York constitution indicate that our people are now disinclined to innovations. Moreover, the presence of a world war so fills our thoughts and stirs our feelings that we are bound to have less interest in municipal affairs. The report of a committee appointed by the League to present to the recent conference of governors in Boston some important matters concerning the relations of the city to the state, tells us that the question of national defence and other subjects so engrossed the time of the conference that municipal affairs were not considered at all.

This question of preparation for defence, in case war should be forced upon us against our will, is necessarily supreme. The maintenance of our national integrity is bound to stand first just as it did during the Civil War, and municipal welfare must take a secondary place. I know how this must be in the minds of others, for although I am interested much beyond the average in municipal problems, I feel them becoming

subordinate to the great question which may involve the preservation of our national life. This becomes the subject of anxious thought both day and night until, like the old Roman, who concluded all his speeches, whatever the subject, with the declaration that Carthage must be destroyed, I feel like injecting into an address upon any theme the warning that it is our duty to look first to the preservation of our national life.

Now anything which diverts attention from the city makes it more easy for municipal affairs to slip back into old ruts and makes the improvement of city government more difficult. So we ought to realize that we are likely to have some hard sledding ahead of us. We have seen what the effect of the war has been upon the efforts of the German and English social reformers. Their projects for improvement have been suspended and to a less degree the same thing is likely to happen here, whether we become involved or not and if we do become involved the evil will be felt for a considerable time after the struggle is over.

And yet in that more remote future when the reaction caused by the war shall have worn away, I think I can see a brighter prospect for American municipalities than ever before. There can be no doubt that the efficiency of city government will finally be promoted by the lessons which the war is teaching. In that war the individualism of England has been sharply contrasted with the collectivism of Germany. The notion that the community exists only for the citizen has been brought face to face with the notion that the citizen lives for the community, and in the terrible conflict of war, which is still the ultimo ratio among the sovereignties of the world, the German ideal has shown its vast superiority in the matter of efficiency over the English and American ideal. However we may deprecate the injustice and heartlessness of the methods used in warfare, we cannot refuse our admiration to the wonderful results accomplished, not only upon the battlefield but in solidifying and organizing the entire body of the people in behalf of the common cause, not each individual or class for itself but all for the nation. Whether Germany wins, or is overcome by the greatly superior numbers and resources of her adversaries, the demonstration of her superior efficiency is very clear. With us the hardest part of the program will be to combine this efficiency with our popular sovereignty. To do this we must infuse into our democracy a stronger spirit of co-operation for the general welfare. If different classes of a nation, capitalists, wage-earners, or what you will, consider their own special interests as above the general good, that nation cannot survive. The labor troubles in England (and the fault is not on one side alone) have been one of the most sinister omens of the disastrous consequences of this kind of individualism. After the war is over, whoever wins, there is bound to be an enlargement of the powers of govern-

ment everywhere and greater control of personal conduct by the collective action of the people. Heaven forbid that we should ever be subject to Prussian militarism but our leaning hitherto has been too far the other way. We have been saturated with an excessive commercialism, an excessive individualism and the belief that our own personal and financial interests might be of more importance than the public good. Military life and discipline has some tendency to correct this centrifugal and disorganizing spirit and if, unhappily, our own country should feel the scourge of war, we may find that in spite of its calamities there may be some compensation in a greater sentiment of solidarity, in a greater willingness to pull and work together and to merge ourselves for the general good into the community of which we form a part. It is to this need of subordinating ourselves to the public welfare that I would direct the last words which I shall address to the League as its president.

For this is my valedictory. It was two years ago that I announced at Toronto that owing to failing health I desired at the next annual meeting to retire from the presidency of the league. A year ago it seemed unwise to make a change and I found I would be able to continue my duties another term but made again an announcement that this would be positively my last appearance. Even in theatrical circles last appearances should not be repeated indefinitely and fortunately at this moment the league can find a successor in a man peculiarly fitted to consider the most important remaining problem that now lies before us in our municipal program—the problem of municipal taxation. Here, too, the example of the German cities has blazed a pathway for us to follow and develop. The increment of real estate values, values which are conferred by the city itself as it grows and expands, ought to be the very first subject of taxation to supply the city's needs before any part of the proceeds of human industry are taken. The present methods of taxation in most of our cities are abominable, leading to concealment, perjury, inequality and monstrous injustice, discouraging enterprise and often encouraging barren speculation. The cities of the Canadian northwest as well as those of Germany are showing us the way to improvement and the league will find the amplest reason for congratulation that perhaps the ablest man in America to deal with this complicated and important problem of municipal taxation may be its next president.

In bidding you goodbye I want to speak a word of the absolute harmony of spirit which has prevailed in our counsels every moment of the five years during which I have been your president. We have had different views on many subjects but only one purpose—to ascertain and report the whole truth and nothing else in respect to municipal conditions and to lay before the people what seemed to be the best measures of relief. Personalities, bickering, jealousy and a disposition to advance selfish interests have been completely absent, and I wish to thank every

officer and every member of every committee for the warm personal kindness and the earnest spirit of co-operation which has always and everywhere prevailed. May the league continue in the still wider career which now opens before it with the same spirit and with increased experience, and ability. May the bright days which have honored its past be dim in the light of those which shall adorn its future and may it prove the most potent agency in our great republic for the regeneration of our municipal life.

And now for my last word. The survival of that social system which represents the highest efficiency is assured (where other conditions are anywhere near equal) by an inexorable law of nature. The survival of democracy is not so assured. The question is—can we make the voluntary action of a free people as effective as the discipline of a monarchy? If we can, we shall show the world a blessed union of liberty and voluntary sacrifice. If we can not, then sooner or later we shall go under in the struggle and witness the subjection of the ideals and perhaps the separate existence of a republic whose people knew not how to subordinate individual interests for the common good. We claim to be a government of the people by the people and for the people, but that such a government shall not perish from the earth, the people for whose sake it exists must recognize the correlative duty not only of dying for the nation in time of war but of living for their country and their community and not for themselves both in war and peace. They must conduct their lives in such a manner as the public good demands. It demands of every citizen that he shall bear his lawful share of the public burdens, that he shall pay his allotment of taxes without equivocation or the withholding of property. It demands that he shall give of his time whatever the needs of the government require. Many of the German cities require their citizens to give three years unpaid service to the municipality in the meetings of councils and in work upon administrative boards. Democracy must do no less if it would hold its own. But we must go further. The public welfare may require of some that they shall marry and rear children for the sake of the community. They must be ready to do it whether they so desire or not. It may require of others that they shall abstain from marriage. The patriotic citizen must be equally willing in this way to sacrifice himself. It may require of some, that they shall give up the use of intoxicating liquor or discontinue some other habit that involves extravagance or demoralization. Those on whom the call is made must be ready to do it with cheerfulness and without hesitation whether there is a prohibitory law or not. It may require periods of training either for military service or in organizing the industries of state or city for purposes of defence or social betterment, and those on whom the call is made must be willing to sacrifice their private interests and respond to the appeal.

Must we be welded by the might of kings
  Into one mass to make us strong and great?
Or can we do ourselves the heroic things
  That crown with power the city and the state?
In peace as well as war can we give all—
  Comfort and home, the love in woman's eyes,
High hopes and riches, if our country call,
  Rejoicing that we make the sacrifice?

Not only when the bugle calls but *now*
  Forget thyself. Silence thy mutinous soul!
Tho' thorns of martyrdom may press thy brow
  Fail not! The common welfare is thy goal!
The state shall stand, though thou thyself must fall,
  Or live, for freedom's sake, bereft of all.

MAYOR MITCHEL'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

BY HENRY BRUÈRE[1]

NEW YORK'S PRESENT GOVERNMENT THE PRODUCT OF YEARS OF WORK

THE Mitchel administration in New York is not an episode. It is the result of ten years' rebuilding of city government and prolonged education of the New York public in the merits of better government. Mr. Mitchel has not electrified New York with revolutionary changes in the organization and character of its government. He has gratified New York by his exceptional success in doing the right thing in the right way both at the outset of his administration and as each successive emergency has arisen. New York's present administration promises to be the climax of a period of progressive, hard-won transition and the beginning of a period of revolutionary change in the government of the city.

HIS GENERAL CONTRIBUTION

Mr. Mitchel and his associates have now had nearly two years of opportunity and power. In this time his administration has demonstrated its character and quality, and given assurance of the permanent contribution it will make to the city's welfare. It has given the city a government of a non-partisan character. It has emphasized the professional character of municipal administration by seeking qualified experts for executive positions. It has brought to the forefront the social welfare aspects of government activity, and given emphatic and continuing emphasis to economy and efficiency.

The administration has not had presented to it, nor has it created an opportunity for general popular appeal. It has kept itself in the position of recognizing from week to week and month to month the obligation it assumed on entering office to conduct the affairs of the city government with efficiency and to devote the resources of the city exclusively to public welfare.

New York, accustomed for years to political pharisaism has responded with remarkable enthusiasm to political sincerity. Unanimously, the disinterested press of the city has stood squarely behind the administration, no scandals having arisen to shake the public faith in the pur-

[1] Chamberlain of the City of New York, formerly director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

poses of the administration as a whole. Public opinion steadfastly has been inclined to assist in the solution of administrative difficulties rather than to adopt an attitude of hostile criticism. Limitations on achievement have not been imposed by traditional political controversy, press abuse or public indifference. They have resulted from the form and compulsory method of the city's government and inherited embarrassments from past defective administrations. Moreover, administrative progress has been retarded in New York as in every city by the need for training a new set of public officials at the outset of the administration, by the lack of effective organization and by the total absence of special training for subordinate positions of leadership.

Betterment in New York's administrative conditions during the past two years has not been confined to the branches of the government under the mayor, but has been achieved throughout the municipality. In New York, leadership in administration is shared by the mayor and the board of estimate and apportionment. Through appointment, the mayor controls the principal administrative departments except those under the jurisdiction of the borough presidents who represent their boroughs in the board of estimate and apportionment. Through its power of appropriation, the board of estimate controls the scope and in a large degree the method of city government. During the Gaynor administration (1910–1913), this fiscal board assumed a position of increasing importance, because, as a result of its power of appropriation, it afforded the means of instituting physical and administrative betterment throughout the departments under the control of the mayor. Due to the political antagonism of the so-called fusion board and the then mayor, this betterment encountered difficulties. The present board, controlled by a non-partisan group, set out at the beginning of its term to put into full effect the program tentatively applied during the preceding four years.

ORGANIZING FOR WORK

The first step was to effect an organization subservient to the board to equip it with information and expert advice in the performance of its fiscal functions. There were provided two bureaus, one for contract supervision, and the other for the establishment of standards. Together, these bureaus are charged with standardizing the duties, salaries and wages of city employees, reviewing contract specifications and estimates of costs, and analyzing and preparing the annual appropriation ordinance. Since 1914, for the first time in the history of this important governmental agency, New York has had a board of estimate equipped to do the work with which it is charged by statute, and united in a common program of administrative improvement. From the standpoint of the permanent betterment of administrative conditions in the city, the solidarity of the board of estimate and its equipment to serve more ade-

quately as a board of financial control and administrative review are tokens of the great progress in the present management of New York. The fact that the board has adopted a policy of dealing with questions of appropriation, public improvements, city planning, salary and grade establishment, approval of contracts, plans of procedure and schemes of management, on the basis of information, has brought New York closer to the standards of business efficiency than any other single transformation in the character of its management.

PROFESSIONAL PUBLIC SERVICE

Mayor Gaynor often referred with pride to the fact that a number of the commissioners appointed by him were college graduates. This was six years ago. Prior to that time the appointee expected nominally to head a city department was either a district leader or a business man with political proclivities. Mayor Gaynor appointed district leaders where necessary, political business men when expedient and college men to half a dozen positions. Mayor Mitchel did not set out to appoint college men, did not assume that a political leader was necessarily disqualified for public office, and appointed no political business man to an important position. He chose, wherever he could find them, men best qualified by reason of training and experience for the particular job to be filled. The character of his appointments is illustrated by the selection he made the triad of social departments—charities, correction and health. In each case the person chosen was a person whose training, experience, temperament and availability made him professionally the best qualified person for the department to which he was appointed. The appointment of Commissioners Kingsbury, Davis and Goldwater are in this sense epoch-making, in that they are the first definite recognition of special professional training for public service outside the fields of engineering and law. They promise to take permanently out of the range of the possibility of political or deliberately mediocre appointment these three most important commissionerships of public welfare.

A second group of appointments was made from men who had chosen public service as a vocation. From this group appointments were made to several important public works departments, namely, water supply, street cleaning and parks. Bridging them with the past are appointments deliberately made to minor positions from the nominees of political organizations representing the parties combining the so-called fusion or anti-Tammany campaign. Mr. Mitchel took the position publicly that wherever he could name men to subordinate positions who were acceptable to the political groups he would do so, provided that they were reasonably competent. This theory is still regarded compatible with efficient government in New York, because in New York, where there is neither the non-partisan primary nor the non-partisan system

of municipal elections, reform is still immediately affected by the action of political parties and not by the non-partisan action of citizens. Thus, the political party as such still demands "recognition" in return for its civic righteousness.

Mr. Mitchel himself entered the mayor's office after seven years of continuous public service in the city government, and with several of his colleagues in the board of estimate represents, therefore, a new school of professional public servant. In stamping city government work as a distinct profession, Mr. Mitchel will make it difficult for New York to accept in the future the familiar official hack who has customarily occupied, but rarely filled, public office.

CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

To date, the conspicuous constructive work of the administration has been done in the fields of social service. Under Commissioner John A. Kingsbury, the efficiency of the public charities department is being advanced at least up to the level of the marked efficiency achieved by New York City's private charitable organizations. Back of the work of the department, Mr. Kingsbury is introducing a social welfare point of view as opposed to a public relief purpose. Against bitter and often unscrupulous opposition, he has uprooted from the department obstructionists who for years have retarded its development in important directions. He is remodelling the aim and method of the city's contact with upwards of 23,000 dependent children, cared for at the city's expense in private institutions. He has organized a department of social investigations to reconstruct disrupted families through social advice and public and private assistance, and to base the aid offered by the city upon a knowledge of family and social conditions, heretofore lacking. He is developing an internal organization taught to view the problem of administering public charities in New York from a public and social community standpoint as opposed to the habits of narrow institutionalism.

Mr. Kingsbury has encountered more opposition, had more battles to fight and has been subjected to more attack than has any other member of Mr. Mitchel's administration. He inherited traditions of management and service more obsolete than those prevailing in any other department, except in the department of correction. Despite these handicaps the progress which he has made and for which he has paved the way, will make it possible for Mayor Mitchel to leave to the city of New York at the end of his administration a public welfare department brought forward almost a generation's measure of progress during his four years' period of service.

To Dr. Katharine B. Davis, commissioner of correction, is assigned the herculean task of rebuilding the correctional institutions of the city.

The one department that had never received public attention and which in New York was as little thought of as is the ordinary village jail in a small community, was the department of correction. When Dr. Davis was put in charge of the city's 5,600 prisoners, the first woman head of a department in a great city to receive appointment, the department of correction was thrust out of darkness into light.

Dr. Davis calls herself a "conservative radical." Her task has been to provide the fundamental facilities for correctional work in the neglected department, to transplant juvenile delinquents from a crowded city institution to a farm colony, to bring discipline and humanity into the management of congested city institutions, to put the idle in the workhouse to work, to stamp out the drug evil, and to convert a moral shambles into a moral sanatorium. She is planning and setting in motion a parole system which will deal with prisoners according to their experience, record and need, and not according to the statutory definitions of their crime.

These are a handful of the many tasks and undertakings under Dr. Davis' leadership in the past two years, which have put the department of correction in the forefront of New York City's concern, and have demonstrated the capacity of women to bear an inspiring part in the work of municipal reconstruction.

In the health department, Dr. S. S. Goldwater, an expert in administration, has transformed a department of medical avocation to a department of professional public health service. He has placed the heads of divisions, formerly practicing physicians, on full time service. He has related medical inspection and sanitary inspection to health conditions in work shops, factories, stores, restaurants, as well as in the proverbial back yard, manure pile and slaughter house of the usual sanitary control. Doctor Goldwater in two years has brilliantly demonstrated how to utilize public funds efficiently for social service work, and taught a personnel whose administrative leaders are chosen not from administrative fields but from the proverbially "business-interest lacking" medical profession how to conduct administrative affairs effectively. Effectiveness in the organization of the public health service, and the literal, matter-of-fact application of accepted principles of public health standards to the varied phases of city life are the principal contributions made during the Mitchel administration by the health department. Thus, subway and street car crowding has been fought not as an infringement of human rights but a peril to human health, unsanitary workroom conditions not as injustice merely to workers but as a menace to citizen health, deceptive patent medicine traffic not as questionable business but as an obstruction to proper health education.

In the public works group of departments the first two years of the administration have been spent in catching up with the past. These departments had never received the inspiration of a public ideal of serv-

ice which has meant so much for progress in the so-called social welfare departments. In New York there is a separate department of bridges having control over the great bridges spanning the East and Harlem Rivers. There is a department of water supply administering the city's water system and public lighting; a department of docks and ferries, building and operating docks on the river fronts, most of which are owned by the city, and the ferries operating between Manhattan Island, Brooklyn and Staten Island; a department of street cleaning having charge of the removal of garbage, ashes and the cleaning of streets; a department of parks, through its four divisions, having charge of the parks throughout the city, and their use for recreational purposes.

With the possible exception of the department of street cleaning, these public works departments have yet to be organized for full effective service. In each case the present administration has improved the quality of the management of the departments by increasing the service rendered and reducing expenditures. The department of water supply, with the co-operation of the board of estimate and apportionment, has reduced its expenditures in the past two years by more than a million dollars while improving its service. The department of bridges, having completed the work of bridge construction, is performing the task generally postponed or neglected in city departments of bringing an organization, developed for construction work, down to the limits of the requirements of maintaining the structures now built.

The department of street cleaning, for the first time since the golden age of Colonel Waring, is attempting to bring its equipment up-to-date. Since Colonel Waring's time no progress in the technique of street cleaning had been made in New York. Each succeeding administration found its task enough to keep up with the tremendous growth of the problems of disposing the city's enormously increasing waste and cleaning its always more congested thoroughfares. The present administration is planning the widespread introduction of automobile equipment and the more extensive use of mechanical devices in street cleaning. Commissioner Fetherston, trained in street cleaning service and sent by the city prior to his appointment to study the street cleaning practices of European cities, is quietly though effectively transforming the methods and character of street cleaning work. The board of estimate and apportionment has given him funds for the introduction of mechanical street cleaning equipment and motor trucks and tractors for the removal of refuse in a so-called model district. The tests of this work will be lower cost of refuse disposal and more thorough cleansing of streets.

In the other public works departments the two years have been spent very largely in the elimination of waste and the improvement of organization. The city is now considering the question of regrouping as well as reorganizing its public works activities. Involved in this program is the

possibility of a centralized engineering service for departments requiring mechanical and civil engineering, through the merger, under consolidated control, of the now separated services.

For the park departments, the results to date of complete freedom to administer in the interest of the community are lowered expense, better maintenance, intelligent development of recreational facilities, particularly in the boroughs of The Bronx and Brooklyn where public recreation provision has hitherto been deficient.

THE DISAPPEARING POLICE PROBLEM

Immemorially, the police department has been kept in the forefront of New York politics, because it was through the police that inconsistency of policy with practice has destroyed alike both Tammany and reform administrations. The police issue has destroyed reformers when they undertook to enforce the sumptuary laws with literal intolerance. It has destroyed Tammany administrations failing to enforce the sumptuary laws even with liberal tolerance. Mr. Mitchel has followed a middle course with regard to the liquor aspect of the police problem, a course made possible for him by the policy laid down by his immediate predecessor, Mayor Gaynor, who placed responsibility for the enforcement of the liquor laws on the state excise department having authority to grant and revoke liquor licenses, and prohibited the police from entering saloons to obtain evidence of illicit sales, holding that a police force of 10,000 men was inadequate to enforce the law by personal visitation in 12,000 saloons. This position the present mayor has similarly maintained. Until local option gives to the city of New York authority to deal with the liquor traffic according to local opinion, the mayor holds that the state authorities should enforce a state-determined policy with the special machinery provided by the state for this purpose.

Through a moderately liberal, but strictly enforced policy regarding the closing of night liquor-selling restaurants, under authority vested in him by law, Mr. Mitchel has prevented scandals and at the same time avoided resentment in dealing with the restriction of the sale of liquor to night workers and the after theatre and "downtown" night diners out. Those affected by this policy are comparatively few but they have always been in a position to make police activity seem odious when restrictions were of a character to evoke protests against alleged "blue laws."

At the outset of his administration, Mayor Mitchel vigorously directed the attention of the police to the suppression of criminal and disorderly gangs which during recent years had infested certain sections of the city. He relaxed the no-clubbing rule laid down by Mayor Gaynor to the extent that the police were directed to deal summarily with gangsters discovered in disorderly practice.

After attempting to obtain Colonel Goethals as police head, Mr. Mitchel appointed Arthur Woods to the commissionership. Mr. Woods, as a schoolmaster, had been a successful leader of young men, but of special value was his training in police work as a deputy under former police commissioner General Bingham. Endowed with straightforward, transparent honesty and effective intelligence, Mr. Woods has the qualifications which are essential to the successful leader of a large force of men. In a remarkable degree he has gained the confidence and loyalty of the rank and file of the police force. Best of all, New York's present police commissioner is neither martinet, iron-fisted nor short-sighted. Mr. Woods has successfully mastered the usual all-absorbing problem of controlling the force so that he is able to turn his attention to developing the new technique of police work.

The task of police administration in New York is the task of all large city police administrations in America, namely, the transformation of detective work from the shrewd sleuthing of the speak-easy, gum-shoe method to the scientific investigation of the criminal investigator; the transformation of the stick swinging, amiable doorstep chatting variety of patrol to the studious observation of neighborhood conditions affecting crime and calling for police action. This, with the training of the police force, not only in the school of recruits at the time of entrance but throughout the period of service, in deportment, in physical condition, in esprit de corps and the varied phases of modern police work, are the preliminary tasks upon which Mr. Woods has been engaged during the eighteen months of his service, while carrying on at the same time the enormous routine duties of administering the metropolitan police service.

Foremost in importance in the work of the department is the detection of crime. On this aspect primary emphasis must always be placed, because by the classes of crimes committed and the apprehension of criminals is the efficiency of police work publicly judged. More and more promising is the work of crime prevention. That 17,000 out of 138,000 arrests made in New York in 1914 were arrests of boys, that the crime problem is a problem of economics, education, recreation and home life, social and racial conditions, are facts gradually forcing their way into the minds of the police as well as into the conscience of the community. Already police work in New York is commencing to re-shape itself in view of the new understanding that crime prevention is possible and the surest means of attaining a wholesome law-abiding community. In asking the police to deal with unemployment, not merely by the suppression of street disorder occasioned by the demonstrations of the unemployed, but by the relief of the unemployed, as was effectively done under Mr. Woods last year, a significant step was taken in putting the enormous resources of the great police department back of the task of utilizing all the resources of the government and the community, in minimizing

opportunities for crime and stopping the manufacture of criminals. It is yet too early to demonstrate the results of the new police method both because of the fact that the program is too newly begun and because past police statistics, with which the current record must be compared, are not reliable. Mr. Woods is providing an accurate record of police conditions and police results against which future progress may be measured. For the first time in its history, the department has a modern statistical division.

In summary, I think it is safe to say that New York is further away than ever before from police demoralization, and fairly begun on the development of a genuine affirmative police program, and this, not only for the first time in the history of New York, but in large degree for the first time in America!

CENTRALIZED AND STANDARDIZED LICENSE CONTROL

Closely associated with better police work is the reorganization of the licensing functions of the city. One of the first steps of the Mitchel administration was to consolidate into a single responsible department the licensing and inspection functions previously carried on by several inadequately supervised bureaus. With the change in organization came a change in viewpoint and methods. The power to license theatres, dance halls and moving picture shows, is now being used to remove injurious conditions and to bring about a general policy of recreation control in the city. The power to license a moving picture theatre, for example, now serves the purpose of enforcing fire prevention and building regulations, health and sanitary regulations, and maintaining proper police control. In other words, licensing is acquiring an affirmative rather than a negative significance.

FIRE DEPARTMENT PROGRESS

The record of the fire department has been one of steady improvement under the careful guidance of Commissioner Robert Adamson, trained in public administration as Mayor Gaynor's secretary. He has placed emphasis on the development of fire prevention work which has become the major aspect of the fire department's activities. This work involves structural alteration of existing buildings, supervising the construction of new buildings to ensure compliance with fire prevention standards and regulations, and the education of the public in fire hazards and their cure.

To discuss fully the program and effort of the entire administration would require the space of a volume. I shall scan hurriedly other significant features of current progress to round out the picture.

THE SCHOOLS

If the mayor of New York had no responsibilities other than the appointment of the board of education and supervision of the work of the

schools, there would be responsibility enough for any competent man. Traditionally, in New York, mayors have appointed members of boards of education and subsequently ignored them. Mr. Mitchel has not attempted to break down the traditional barriers existing between the schools and the city government, but he has assumed the right to counsel with the members of the board of education respecting policies initiated by them. New York City's schools are responsible for the education of 800,000 children. In operating expenses alone they cost $40,000,000 a year.

As president of the board of aldermen, Mayor Mitchel was chairman of the committee which conducted through a staff of experts an elaborate investigation of school problems in New York. At the very beginning of his administration he undertook, with the president of the board of education, to bring about a more definite policy with regard to vocational and industrial education. This effort resulted in the mayor's visiting various schools in the middle west, particularly the public schools of Cincinnati and the engineering school of the university of that city, and the schools of Gary, Indiana. This visit, made in company with members of the board of education and his personal advisers, is producing notable results in the school system of New York.

The immediate consequence of the western trip of inspection was the engagement of the superintendent of schools of Gary, Indiana, and the dean of the engineering school of Cincinnati to come to New York in order to serve as advisers to the technical staff of the board of education in formulating and instituting a program of vocational education. Dean Schneider of the University of Cincinnati has assisted the board of superintendents in instituting a co-operative system of vocational education under which factories and workshops are utilized for practical instruction in vocational pursuits. Superintendent Wirt of the Gary schools is conducting an experimental demonstration of the so-called work-study-play school. This system, which under his guidance has made the schools of Gary, Indiana, of nation-wide influence, while radically enriching the curriculum of the elementary schools makes possible through double sessions the all-day use of the school plant. It incorporates into the plan of instruction supervised play, a reorganized school assembly, the use of library, settlement and church facilities hitherto neglected or only partly used resources of child education.

The discussion of the Gary plan has awakened a new and unexampled interest in elementary school education in New York. Whether or not the plan is finally generally applied to the city's schools, in part or as a whole the discussion of school questions which its consideration has evoked will undoubtedly give fresh vitality and further flexibility to New York's great elementary school system. There are many who feel that if Mayor Mitchel accomplished nothing more during his adminis-

tration than the quickening of a practical public interest in school questions, he would have done a man's work as mayor of the city.

THE GOVERNMENT NOT A ONE MAN GOVERNMENT

In all of these undertakings the mayor has not stood alone in the traditional isolation of New York's chief executive. He has had the sympathetic and effective co-operation of his fellow members of the board of estimate and apportionment, conspicuously Comptroller William A. Prendergast and President George McAneny of the board of aldermen. The comptroller, in many important undertakings has brought to the mayor's support his rich experience in public service and the influential machinery of his great office. Mr. McAneny, as a sympathetic and wise adviser in all matters affecting the government, has helped in a remarkable way to make easier the solution of many vexatious problems with which the mayor of New York is continually confronted. The co-operation of these three members of the board of estimate and apportionment, the mayor, comptroller, and president of the board of aldermen, is a very rare example of teamwork among independently elected officials.

PROGRESS IN EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY

Important as are the varied activities of the city government to which I have already referred, the task by which the success of the administration will finally be measured is the task of re-ordering the business methods of the city. Despite the handicaps of a charter framed by a state legislature, and the city's total inability to deal with the structure and general method of its government without legislative sanction, great progress has already been made towards permanent efficiency. This efficiency, brought about through better internal organization of departments, more conscientious attention to the details of administration, more effective service in administrative posts, tells its story in reduced expenditures despite increasing services. In 1915, the budgets for departments under the mayor's control were reduced $1,500,000 in the aggregate, although increases totaling nearly $400,000 were provided for charities, corrections and other pressing needs. In the budget for 1916 the aggregate allowances for these departments are again reduced by a million dollars despite additions of $900,000 for needed extensions.

The always difficult task of making economies apparent and popularly understood is complicated by reason of the city's present difficult financial condition. Enormous expenditures to provide the vast equipment of bridges, highways, water supply, schools, subways and other facilities that make New York the great metropolis that it is, had, prior to the present administration, rolled up a debt amounting in January, 1914, to $1,225,000,000. This debt bears interest and demands annual appropriations for amortization, so that in the 1915 budget $51,000,000 was

voted for debt service purposes. This figure is a figure of insurmountable difficulty and one which will steadily advance for some years to come, due to the current outlay of $200,000,000 for the enlarged subway system and to the adoption of a "pay-as-you-go" policy for future public improvements. This "pay-as-you-go" policy is New York's first attempt in several generations to provide additions and replacements to its equipment out of current funds. In brief, the policy requires for the year 1915 that one-fourth the cost of all new improvements, which do not produce revenues sufficient to care for interest and sinking fund charges, shall be included in the tax levy budget, the remaining three-fourths to be financed with the proceeds of fifteen-year bonds. In each succeeding year an additional fourth of authorizations is to be paid for out of tax levy funds until borrowed funds are used only for improvements such as rapid transit, docks and water supply, whose revenues make them self-sustaining.

It is therefore impossible for the city of New York by better purchasing methods, by the standardization of salaries, by abolishing unnecessary positions and consolidation of departments, to reduce its operating expenses sufficiently to offset new plant and equipment charges. Heroic as the "pay-as-you-go" remedy will prove to be, it is a remedy which will put New York beyond question on a sound financial basis and give to the officers of ten years hence a city with a rapidly shrinking debt and a sound, unimpeachable fiscal policy. It is a mark of statesmanship that in the face of an insistent demand on the part of taxpayers for the reduction of expenditures, the board of estimate and apportionment has had the courage to prescribe this remedy. That public approval would have been practically universal is undoubted, had the local authorities been able to explain prospective increases in taxes solely on the ground of discontinuance of the fatal and costly borrowing policy. But in this year a blow was struck at the whole economy program of the city by the state government which levied a direct tax of $20,000,000 on the people of the state to provide estimated deficiencies in the state income. Of this tax New York City must pay 70 per cent, though it enjoys no exclusive benefits from state expenditures, as opposed to the host of up-state counties and villages that profit locally through state liberality. This 70 per cent means an addition to New York City's budget for 1916 of $14,000,000, bringing the total up to $213,000,000.

The situation, therefore, is this: That with the most extraordinary efforts to effect economies sufficient to offset increased debt charges due to subway investments and the "pay-as-you-go" policy, the administration finds itself compelled to increase its budget and consequently the tax levy in order to meet the heavy burden of the state tax.

The citizens of New York have been so thoroughly awakened to the need for efficient management in city government not only to promote

effective service but to keep expenditures within bounds, that they are likely now to make their influence felt in demanding a reorganization from top to bottom of administrative methods of the government of the state. If this comes about, the direct tax, burdensome as it will prove to the city in 1916, may be a benefit not only to the city but to the state at large.

The gradual advancement of civil service standards so as to provide practical tests for candidates in highly skilled positions as well as in the rank and file, and the development of a plan of promotion, are the tasks, to which Mr. Mitchel's civil service commissioners, under the presidency of Dr. Henry Moskowitz, have successfully devoted themselves during these two years. Civil service in New York is in the process of reshaping. Foundations are being laid for a genuinely efficient, well organized, well trained, justly paid and adequately directed working force.

If there were space it would be interesting to discuss in detail the extensive investigations and constructive proposals in the field of municipal pensions which has been under way during the past two years. New York maintains a constantly increasing pension roll. On December 31, 1914, 8,200 pensioners were provided for out of eight separate pension funds, involving an expenditure exceeding $5,000,000. Each of these funds was established on the basis of prodigality without reckoning future cost. It is proposed to establish a sound pension system for the entire city service, with rates actuarially determined and with reserves set aside to meet future liabilities after the manner of sound insurance financing.

Standardization of salaries which in the 1916 budget will place the salary rates of the city on an equitable basis, is not fundamentally an economy measure, but is a means of grading the service of the city so that unjust inequalities should be eliminated and opportunities provided for advancement from grade to grade according to the proved merits and ability of the employe.

There has been organized a representative employes' conference committee chosen by the employes of the city which it is proposed shall take up, in co-operation with administrative officials, consideration of questions affecting the efficient administration of the government. It is expected in some systematic way to utilize the interest, ability and information of city employes for administrative betterment.

For the first time in the history of the city, an attempt is being made to establish city employment on a self-respective basis in which the city government shall assume the responsibilities and attitude of an employer and not that of an antagonist exacting service from employes who look to outside political leadership for the protection of their interests rather than to a just principle of employment.

Many of the tasks begun are still far from completion. There is realization of this and an equal determination to utilize the last two years

of the administration to bring unfinished undertakings to a successful conclusion. Whether home rule for New York is obtained or not, every locally remediable condition of mal-administration should be righted and will be righted at the end of this administration, unless present plans miscarry. The ever-present difficulty is to demonstrate the wisdom of spending funds to undertake constructive work and to make the preliminary investigations necessary to reorganizing, and step by step as progress is made to justify the continuance of special expert staffs employed for this purpose.

I do not recall in any previous administration an equal use of co-operating citizen committees. Committees not only representing all classes of citizens and types of interests have been summoned to assist in the consideration of problems of emergent or continuing character, but, what is of greater consequence, practical results have been obtained from this co-operation. Not only have there been committees appointed by the mayor on such questions as unemployment, markets, ports and terminals and taxes, but various department heads have affiliated with their activities interested groups of citizens to assist them either in developing public interest or providing special experts to help in solving technical questions.

There is a growing conscious effort to bring into closer relation the life of the community and the work of the city government. New York in this way is preparing for a genuine popular control of its city affairs. Progress in New York's government has resulted heretofore from external pressure of special organizations or from the isolated leadership of exceptional officials. It has not responded to a pervasive and common popular judgment or a public habit of utilizing the machinery of government in dealing with public problems of community welfare. The government of New York is steadily becoming more effective as an agency of service. More notable than this is the fact that the government of the city is increasingly looked upon as a natural agency of citizen co-operation for public welfare. Now, for the first time in the city's history, plans for the industrial development of New York center around the city's port and terminal policy and a constructive program of its dock department. Now, for the first time, social service activities of the city are guided not so much by voluntary private effort as by official action. Now, for the first time, citizens realize that they have in the municipal government a means by which they may come together to deal constructively with problems too big to be dealt with by individual effort, too big for volunteer associations of citizens, too big for any force or machinery except the combined force of the whole community and the machinery which must eventually respond to the intelligence and voiced demands of all the people of the city.

THE TERRE HAUTE ELECTION TRIAL

BY STELLA C. STIMSON [1]
Terre Haute, Indiana

LIKE all stories of real people and actual work, the story of the down-fall of Terre Haute's political corruptionists must begin awhile back. The removal and deportation to a federal prison of the chief city and county officials, whose lips were hardly closed upon their oaths to support the constitution, was not a sudden catastrophe, but the culmination of a long period of progressive corruption. It was "an organized, deliberate conspiracy to assassinate government."

One afternoon in February during the 1913 session of the Indiana legislature, a message came to the writer, who, as acting chairman of the legislative committee of the State federation of clubs, interested in its educational and social measures was listening to a senate debate, that a gentleman desired an interview on a matter of business. Going into the lobby, the seeker of the interview was found to be Donn Roberts of Terre Haute. He led the way to the lieutenant governor's private room, made some comment on the legislature, and then said abruptly, "I intend to be a candidate for mayor of Terre Haute, I want the support of you women, and if elected I will be the best mayor the city ever had." As Mr. Roberts had never been anything but a political tool in Terre Haute, "his only claim to distinction, his ability to stuff ballot boxes and vote repeaters," both the announcement and request were startling. In reply, the writer asked him if he would enforce the laws if elected mayor. "Not as you church women, but as most of Terre Haute citizens think they should be enforced," was his prompt answer. "I'll have good streets, and give the people a business administration." When told that Terre Haute women wanted good schools, good courts, and streets free from gamblers, wicked women and drunken men and that most of the men wanted law enforcement, also, Mr. Roberts replied quickly, "The vote does not show it." In the long conversation over Terre Haute affairs, he talked much of his personal good habits and virtues, but to all suggestions that a mayor should stand for civic righteousness, Mr. Roberts had the one emphatic reply, "the election returns prove

[1] Mrs. Stimson, who has written this impressive article, was one of the leaders in the whole movement, so she speaks with authority. The whole story is a striking illustration of effective civic work and might well be carefully studied in other communities suffering as Terre Haute suffered. Mrs. Stimson, in addition to being identified with numerous efforts to improve local conditions, is also an active factor in the Indiana federation of women's clubs.—C. R. W.

that a majority of Terre Haute citizens do not want law enforcement. They want the all night and Sunday saloon, the segregated district and gambling." Upon the further suggestion by the writer that there might be possibly something wrong with the election returns, and that at all events there was something wrong in a mayor deciding what laws to enforce or not to enforce, Roberts said, "I'm going to be mayor of Terre Haute and you women might as well support me." "Not upon a lax law enforcement platform," was the writer's reply, and the interview ended.

Roberts had been in constant attendance at the 1913 legislature trying to defeat Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacons' tenement bill against which he had personally worked during the 1909 and 1911 sessions. Plot after plot to kill the housing bill had been discovered in time to thwart them, and during the interview concerning the mayorality above mentioned, there was the feeling on the part of the writer that Roberts sought the interview in an attempt to trade his anti-housing lobby for the support of Terre Haute women in his contemplated campaign. The opportunity even to mention such a thing was carefully guarded against.

The primary election of city officials in Terre Haute was to be held in about three months. For years the sixth ward precincts had been notorious for false registrations and fraud and violence on election day. Yet the vote from these same precincts had generally decided the election result. A few women determined to know exactly how this ward's elections were conducted. The council of women's organizations held a meeting and decided to go to the polls. A one page digest in simple language of the primary election law was made and printed, tally sheets were prepared for each precinct with its election officials' names typewritten at the top. Penny notebooks and pencils were provided. A schedule of hours was arranged that there might be two or more women at each precinct from the time the polls opened until they closed. On a cold raw day, the women—about sixty in all—kept tally of the voters of the sixth ward. They noted to the minute with watches the law violations, repeating, and license numbers of automobiles bringing voters. When night came, these women were wiser citizens, though with faith somewhat shaken in the integrity of election methods. What astonished them most was the absence of good citizens and the presence of bad citizens at the polls. Many good men did not go at all and those who did stayed only long enough to vote, they neither watched nor helped—while saloon men, owners, bartenders and hangers-on were present all day, as were brewery automobiles!

Roberts and his ticket were nominated over the regular Democratic organization candidates. In the campaign which followed, the liquor element supported Roberts and this strength was augmented by speech making and press talk against public corporations, especially the city

traction company which brought to his support a large honest following among the labor people. Instead of relying upon his actual strength, Roberts planned definitely to use repeaters and to corrupt election boards as has since been proved by court evidence.

The registration in October, 1913, was heavily padded. A few days later, the civic league asked the women to go to all the polling places of the city, as well as those of the sixth ward, at the November election. It was not easy to perfect such an organization, but seven wards and 55 precinct chairmen were appointed with helpers, numbering more than 450 in all. A number of women spent a week in the city clerk's office copying names and residences of voters from the registration books. With these poll books in hand, most of the women then investigated their precincts, house by house. They found many illegal registrations, names from vacant lots, school buildings, stores, and houses where only women lived. As in the May primary, tally sheets, election law digests and notebooks were prepared. Armed with these and with their poll books, watches and cameras, the women, thoroughly non-partisan, went to the polls to work for an honest, clean election.

The men, aside from the politicians, had no such organization. A few attorneys had investigated the illegal registrations and had attempted through injunction to restrain the Roberts inspectors from violently or fraudulently removing from the election board the officials of the minority party, but on election day not an order of court was carried out and no sheriffs could be found. Some anti-Roberts politicians, who knew their lives would be in danger if they went or sent workers to the polls of the bad precincts, hired strangers—Burns' detectives—to go in order to get the evidence, but these men were promptly arrested, bailed out, re-arrested, refused bail and jailed. A few men who had had no election experience in Terre Haute, two assistant school superintendents, a few ministers and professors ventured into the sixth ward, which includes the segregated vice district, to be knocked down and beaten when they attempted to challenge voters. The most worthless men of the city, its habitual drinkers, its prize fighters, its gamblers, its "red light" hangers-on, its worst bartenders had been made deputy sheriffs and provided with tin badges and guns, both of which were flashed whenever decent citizens attempted to remonstrate.

The women at the polls were not molested, but when these women saw, about the middle of the morning, that there was not even the pretense of an election in the worst precincts and that good people were powerless, a telegram was sent advising Governor Ralston of the situation. He replied that he had telephoned the sheriff to keep the peace and advised seeing the sheriff. This was not possible, for the sheriff was not to be found; he was said to be in a saloon. Later in the day, the governor was again telegraphed to and informed that the sheriff and his deputies

themselves were causing the most of the trouble, and about five o'clock a few "tin badge deputies" were taken off, but the vote was in. Roberts and his ticket were declared elected, though with a majority much smaller than expected by his supporters, who lost money, it is said, on the election wagers. The whole city knew the election was dishonest, nearly 500 women had evidence of it, yet no contest was begun. In fact, one of the leading business men, recognized as a man who wanted the city right, said the following morning for publication, "Let's forget the election and boom Terre Haute." The women and a few young attorneys tried to insist upon an investigation, but in vain.

Roberts became mayor, January 1, 1914. Because there were not offices enough for him to fill and thus keep all his pre-election promises, some of his friends became enemies, among them the judge of the Vigo circuit court, who called a grand jury and appointed a special prosecutor for an election probe. Several indictments were returned. The trial and conviction of one of Roberts' city appointees came first. Roberts himself was indicted and, in the trial which followed, the evidence of fraudulent registration and voting was so overwhelming that respectable citizens did not think it necessary to attend court to the end of the trial. At one time, a raid was made upon the office of the special prosecutor, by the president of the board of safety, the chief of police, with five policemen, in an attempt to seize the election records and thus prevent their use in the prosecution. The door of the office had to be barricaded and kept shut by force until a restraining order could be obtained. The trial went on, but suddenly "something" happened to the court, the probing grand jury and special prosecutor were dismissed, court room scenes became violent, the closing arguments were cut short and the trial came rapidly to an end. The jury promptly returned a verdict of "not guilty" and a disgraceful demonstration followed—the night parade of gamblers, drunkards, saloon men and debased women can never be forgotten by the decent citizens who were forced to see and hear it. One transparency said, "Donn Roberts, the idol of Terre Haute," another, "Donn Roberts for governor." His candidacy for governor, unbelievable as it may be, was, however, soon announced and many portions of the state placarded with his photograph by one of the men on the city pay-roll of Terre Haute.

Nominated in violence, corruptly elected, corruptly acquitted of the crime of his own election, Roberts planned in the fall of 1914 to elect at a general election of county, state, congressional and senatorial candidates, a group of county officials who would continue to work in harmony with the already established corrupt city officialdom.

But Terre Haute had some aroused and determined citizens. Roberts continued to make enemies among his own sort. The city was filled with gamblers. Theft and murder became more frequent—actually

frequent. Everything was neglected, but street building for which many contracts had been let. But it was soon discovered that the street building specifications were peculiar and were not being carried out by contractors. Roberts attempted to dictate to the school city, tried to prevent by injunction the school trustees from buying a much needed school site. Law-suits in which Roberts and the city were involved multiplied, and as the fall election approached, there was much unrest and a realization that Roberts' candidates were men with no sense of the responsibility of public duty.

Civic organizations, business, and social, however, seemed to be paralyzed. A few men and women, however, were determined to get evidence again at the polls with the hope that a federal court could have jurisdiction as United States senators and representatives were to be elected. The political party opposing Roberts became encouraged and laid its plans. Registration day in October was watched, and a careful investigation of the padded registration lists was made in the succeeding days, for much repeating had been observed. As election day drew near, men said they did not dare to go into the dangerous precincts and advised the women not to do it. It was not difficult to get election officials and poll watchers at most of the precincts, but the fear was general about those of the sixth ward and two or three others. At a meeting called by the president of the Woman's council—Mrs. U. O. Cox, the wife of a professor of the state normal school—many of the women thought it useless, as well as dangerous, to go into the sixth ward. The election of the previous year had proved that it was not safe for the men to go to precincts "A," "B" and "C."

The "A" precinct was in the heart of the vice district, had the largest illegal registrations—sixty votes from a one-room saloon and more than a hundred from another, and evidence of its voting methods was absolutely necessary. The writer had been placed in charge of the Woman's council election committee, and she decided that she must herself get poll book evidence in "A." A friend, Mrs. Mary S. Rhoads, volunteered to go, also. The general secretary of the Y. W. C. A., Miss Emma B. Moore, went to precinct "B," whose polling place was within a stone's throw of a score of well known houses of ill-fame. A few fine women voluntarily made up the rest of the sixth ward woman's organization. These women had worked at these polls the previous year in the city election and were sure that charity and rescue work in former years would protect them from physical violence.

Poll books were carefully made for every precinct of the city, with false registrations marked with a red ink "challenge." Trained by previous election experience, the women did effective work. In normal precincts in other wards, upright men and women prevented the voting of illegal registrations, but this made fraudulent voting all the more

necessary in the bad precincts and the men and women who went to them knew what to expect. In one, an honest election sheriff, Wesley A. Mitchell, had to defend his life by shooting a deputy sheriff because of an attack carefully planned by the assistant chief of police, a deputy sheriff and two prize fighters and "gunmen" of national reputation, who were determined to get him away from the polls in order that a large illegal foreign vote might be recorded. At precinct "B," men who protested against repeating were assaulted or arrested and jailed—among them Rev. I. B. Harper, pastor of the Methodist Church, and Prof. Jas. H. Baxter of the Indiana state normal school.

At another, the notorious Taylorville precinct, whose duly appointed minority election board officials had been arrested in the small hours of the night preceding the election, thrown into jail and refused bail, the voting machine was used and the lever worked without even the formality of rushing in repeating voters who were too busy elsewhere. Neither the sheriff nor any of his deputies were available to serve orders of the judge of the superior court who stood alone among a debauched or nerveless group of county officials. This judge, John E. Cox, was compelled to appoint, from his bed in the middle of the night before election, special officers to serve his orders of court. These officers after being beaten with clubs were run away from the polling place with revolver shots. The lone woman watcher, Mrs. Minta Morgan, saw her own husband driven away, but stood her ground—and the voting machine lever was turned until the agreed upon number of voters was reported.

In another precinct, the county sheriff sat in a saloon, open contrary to law, and paid repeaters with his own hand all day long. In this precinct there were many repeating negroes, though court investigation has since proved that only one negro lived in it.

At precinct "A," where no respectable man dared to try to work, it was surely an ominous commentary on democratic government to see saloon keepers and evil resort owners working with the city judge to let wretched cocaine and liquor victims, white and colored, vote over and over again with only a woman or two to protest. Former judges of the courts and the presidents of the chamber of commerce and manufacturers club, could only look on for a few minutes, feel their helplessness and go away. Because almost every city and county official was in the conspiracy, nothing could be done, but get the evidence. It was for this, the women stayed.

Had the writer left the polls for one moment during that exhausting day from 5.30 a.m. until 6.05 p.m., this story would not have been written. A saloon keeper—the Roberts precinct committeeman in this notorious precinct was Irish with the fine instincts of race not entirely obliterated by "red light" associations—assured that the crooked result was not endangered, was kind to the writer and her companion, brought

them a dinner and stopped violence and profanity in their presence. Quiet reigned throughout the day because there were no men to protest. But the repeaters went steadily in. A number of them were turned back because they were recognized by the women, but a legal challenge was never made, the challenger was never permitted to enter the polling precinct door—evidence which proved convincing in court.

When night brought the election returns, and, as in former elections, a few precincts, the worst in the city, had determined its policy and government, the citizens were stunned and bewildered. The following day, good men and women forgot their work, even school boys and girls knew that the Roberts circuit judge's alleged victory of ten votes was in reality a defeat by many hundred votes as has been since proved in court.

The women felt that something should be done, if possible, and sent a telegram to a federal judge, A. B. Anderson, of Indianapolis. In the evening, they learned that the Roberts candidate for judge had gone post-haste to the governor with his alleged ten vote majority to ask for his commission. The governor was telephoned not to sign it, and did not for two days. The next day, the women who had seen the fraud and violence at the polls, who knew the returns were false, signed a petition directed to the district attorney of the federal court, Frank C. Dailey, asking for an investigation of the election. A brilliant and courageous attorney, Joseph R. Roach, whose early unfortunate career had given him intimate knowledge of the gambling and vice so prevalent and open in Terre Haute had become an avowed enemy of Roberts, and, using his familiarity with the ins and outs of the underworld, gave invaluable assistance in the investigation.

The indictment and trial of Mayor Roberts and other officers and political workers are now a part of the political history of the United States and a brief chronological statement is all that is possible to give in the confines of this article and perhaps all that is necessary.

1914. Nov. 7. Suit filed for recount of votes alleging fraud in election of judge, sheriff and prosecutor.

Nov. 10. Committee of citizens appointed to raise funds for court investigation.

Nov. 18. Eighteen so-called gunmen and repeaters arrested by federal authorities upon affidavit before United States commissioner.

Nov. 19. County officers with all election documents summoned before federal grand jury.

Nov. 23. Redman (the Roberts circuit court candidate) assumed duties as circuit judge and began operations. "Gang picked jury impaneled at once to intimidate federal witnesses and get their evidence."

Nov. 24. Terre Haute women before federal grand jury. Charles Clogston, editor of a fearless Terre Haute evening paper, arrested,

arraigned, sentenced and jailed by Judge Redman within a period of three hours for contempt for his "gang picked grand jury" newspaper statement.

Nov. 26. Judge Anderson of federal court released editor Clogston on habeas corpus and severely reprimanded the sheriff and prosecutor.

Nov. 27. Terre Haute grand jury dismissed. Chamber of commerce endorsed election probe and voted financial aid.

Dec. 5. Women summoned again to Indianapolis to identify repeaters. Resignation of Terre Haute deputy prosecutor.

Dec. 15. Confessions of repeaters and gunmen in Indianapolis. Rotarians endorse election probe.

Dec. 20. Chief of police summoned before federal grand jury.

Dec. 25. U. S. Marshal Mark Storen went to Terre Haute with 126 warrants, made 116 arrests.

1915. Jan. 12. Eighty conspirators plead guilty in federal court. Retail merchants' association endorse probe.

March 8. Trial began on charge of conspiracy, 400 witnesses summoned. Mr. Dailey's remarkable speech to the jury.

April 5. Jury returned verdict of guilty against each defendant on every count of indictment.

April 12. Sentences pronounced by Judge Anderson.

April 18. Mayor Roberts, circuit court judge Redman, county sheriff Shea, city judge Smith, with other city and county officials, taken to the federal prison at Leavenworth. Others committed to Marion county jail for shorter terms.

The investigation, indictment and trial of the Terre Haute election conspirators stands out in the legal history of the United States, remarkable for its thoroughness, dignity and conception of the fundamentals of government involved. The honesty and kindliness of the district attorney, Mr. Dailey, toward the defendants, won confessions from them and their pleas of guilty; his courage kept him clear from undesirable political interference; his energy and in all his remarkable personality made a success almost miraculous of the stupendous task resting upon him as United States district attorney and proved that President Wilson had made no mistake in appointing him to this position. The fame of Judge Anderson was already known from coast to coast before this precedent-making trial. If his sentences were a little too merciful, as some people think, his observations from the bench will never be forgotten by the people of Indiana. His mercy and moderation had general approval.

In June, following the federal prosecution, Judge George D. Sunkel, of the Parke county circuit court, rendered a decision in a civil contest election suit that unseated Judge Redman and placed Charles L. Pulliam on the bench. In August, Judge Sunkel, in throwing out the entire

vote of precinct "A," rendered a precedent-making decision, which gave the office of sheriff to George W. Krietenstein.

Terre Haute now has good judges, both county and city, and a sheriff's office that can be depended upon. But best of all is this—its citizenship is awake, and knows that "the life of our form of government depends upon honest elections. Failing to secure this, we justify the cause of the anarchist, the nihilist and all others whose creed is in opposition to law and order. The Terre Haute conspirators struck at the very life of the state itself." An editorial in Indiana's largest paper said, "There is not a community in this land in which Terre Haute's political prototypes may not be found. . . . We have even gone so far as to speak of the practices of these men in a jesting way. The moral is plain, and it is that the people of this country must take their affairs into their own hands, smash every boss who raises his head, and see to it that elections honestly reflect the will of the people."

NEW YORK CITY'S CIVIL SERVICE:

THE LATE INVESTIGATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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ALTHOUGH an investigation concerning the administration of the civil service law in any locality of the state of New York is not unusual, the one which was conducted by the state civil service commission in 1914 and the early part of 1915 relative to such administration in the city of New York has so many political aspects, and was the subject of so much recriminatory and other comment as to make it worthy of unusual notice. Like most investigations, professedly friendly but really hostile, it had a clarifying effect, and the various parties concerned, including the public, while perhaps agreeing in nothing else, seem to agree in their gratification that it was held.

As the origin of the investigation was the familiar expedient of diverting attention from affairs at home by the institution of a foreign controversy, it is necessary to refer to the criticism to which the state commission had been subjected. In January 1913, when Governor Sulzer took office, he appointed as members of the state commission Jacob Neu, Dr. Meyer Wolff and James A. Lavery, three men without previous knowledge of the merit system, whose administration, in the language of a letter of the Civil Service Reform Association to the governor of the state, to which we shall hereafter refer, showed "not only actual violations of both the letter and the spirit of the law in some particulars, but also a lack of appreciation by the present civil service commissioners of a decent standard of official and personal conduct and attitude toward the dignity of their office." These commissioners were not displaced by Governor Glynn when he became governor after Governor Sulzer's impeachment. In the early part of the year 1914, the association made an examination of the record of the commission for the year 1913, and in March sent a letter to the state commission pointing out a number of instances in which the commission was subject to serious criticism, and asking for any comment by the commission which would tend to show any error or omission which would justify a different conclusion from that drawn by the association. The charges contained in this letter are of interest because they are in many respects identical with those made by the state commission against

the municipal commission in the report rendered as the result of the investigation subsequently held by the former.

To this letter the commission replied, in a brief communication, of which the only really pertinent sentence is that "The letter consists of reference to matters concerning which your committee holds opinions contrary to those of this commission, as shown by the action taken." As the reply took no exception to the statement of facts contained in the letter, the correspondence was submitted by the association to the governor, and it asked his serious consideration of the matter and that steps be taken to correct the situation. The correspondence was also published, and the state commission was subjected to a considerable amount of adverse criticism by the press.

The governor, through his counsel, John G. Saxe, transmitted the correspondence to the state commission in a letter in which he called the attention of the commission to the fact that the association's letter contained "a number of allegations which upon the face of the correspondence are admitted, or at any rate they are not denied," and asked the state commission to report at its early convenience if it had any explanation to make. The commission took two months to make this report, which it did on June 26, 1914. This report, which was very long, again failed to meet the criticisms of the association, and the latter in a letter to Mr. Saxe pointed out specifically that there was no denial of any fact alleged, but excuses merely were given for the acts in question. The major criticisms were in brief, (1) that there was great delay in considering changes in classification, resulting in the employment of individuals without examination for long periods of time under suspension of the rules; (2) that the number of exemptions granted was not only excessive, but the character of many of them allowed the appointment of political workers wholly lacking in proper qualification to positions for which the practicability of examination had been demonstrated; (3) that competition had been waived so as to permit the appointment of individuals to such positions as stenographer, billing machine operator, estimate clerk and the like under the rule permitting such waiver where the appointment is one "demanding peculiar and exceptional qualifications of a scientific, professional or educational character," and where the commission has "satisfactory evidence that for specified reasons competition is impracticable and that the position can best be filled by the selection of some designated person of high and recognized attainments in such qualities"; (4) that the excessive number of 436 appointments had been made in one year under the rule allowing the commission to except from examination any person engaged in private business for professional, scientific, technical or other expert service of occasional or exceptional character, few of the appointees being in any sense experts; (5) that provisional appointments were continued for periods of indefinite length

and far in excess of the two months period to which they are limited by law, and that no examinations were ordered through which permanent appointments might be made; and (6) that the commission appointed, as stenographers, inspectors and the like, without examination, relatives and close friends of the individual commissioners, suspending the rules for the purpose. In spite of its own record in these respects, charges of like character, except the first and last, were made by the state commission against the municipal commission in the report rendered as the result of its investigation.

While the governor was still considering the record of the state commission, the municipal commission of New York City, on August 12, excepted from examination 47 examiners of charitable institutions under the rule which permitted the exception of persons engaged in private business for expert service of occasional or exceptional character, although there was then in existence an eligible list of examiners of charitable institutions from which appointments could *prima facie* have been made. Ten of the appointments made by the commissioner of charities under this authority were of persons not eligible, because they were engaged in private business, and the entire transaction was one which called for explanation. The exception was of the class of which frequent and improper use had been made by the state commission, as specified in the fourth ground of criticism above stated.

The New York city commission had been appointed by Mayor Mitchel at the beginning of the year. It was composed of Dr. Henry Moskowitz, and Darwin R. James, who were without previous experience with its work, and Alexander Keogh, a member of the then existing commission who was retained in office. It had as its secretary the former secretary of the civil service Reform Association, Robert W. Belcher. It had undertaken many reforms, which had resulted in better administration and economies in the service. Not the least of these was the abolition of the labor bureau as a separate bureau, with the result that the services of certain employees had been rendered unnecessary and $8,000 in salaries saved to the city.

There was, as there always is, considerable irritation among the persons affected by any affirmative improvement of or economy in administration, which, added to the position in which the state commission found itself, apparently led that commission to seize upon the exemption of the 47 examiners of charitable institutions by the local commission as an occasion for an investigation of the general administration of the service. The statement of the state commission in its report is that "its attention was directed to the many exceptions and exemptions from examination made by the New York city commission," that abuse had become apparent and had "reached a climax when the municipal commission permitted the appointment of 47 examiners of charitable institutions," and that

when it undertook an examination of the records "it began to receive complaints in large numbers from individuals and societies specifying violations and evasions of the civil service law in many departments, and the duty of this commission to make an investigation soon became evident." In its letter to the local commission, on September 18, 1914, ordering an investigation, it stated as one of the reasons therefor the reorganization of the office of the municipal commission and the abolition of the positions of labor clerk and assistant labor clerk. The investigation was ordered under the authority of section 6, subd. 3, of the civil service law.

This section of the law does not refer specifically to an investigation of a local commission. It specifies that the state commission

> Shall . . . make investigations concerning and report upon all matters touching the enforcement and effect of the provisions of this chapter and the rules and regulations prescribed thereunder, concerning the action of any examiner or subordinate of the commission and any person in the public service in respect of the execution of this chapter.

The investigation was therefore authorized to be, and was in fact, general and not limited to the acts of the local commission, although it was generally considered to be so. Nor would or did the report of the commission upon any such investigation authorize it to take any affirmative action. Another section of the law permits the removal of any municipal civil service commissioner by the state commission, with the approval of the governor, after a specification of the particulars of incompetency, inefficiency, neglect of duty or violation of the law which is a cause of removal, first giving such commissioner an opportunity to make a personal explanation in self defense. No such proceeding as this was instituted, although the state commission in a summary of its report, given out to the press in 1915 before the publication of the report, itself said that it had recommended to the governor the removal of one or more of the commissioners. But this was plainly for political effect, as the governor had no power of removal, and no removal could legally have been made by the commission as a part of its report of the results of the investigation ordered.

The investigation was carried on with some of the ceremony of a trial. The attorney general assigned Frank Moss, formerly first assistant district attorney in New York City, as special deputy to act as counsel for the state commission, and Frederic R. Coudert acted as counsel for the municipal commission. There were 45 sessions held, 7,705 pages of testimony were taken, bound in 11 volumes, over 400 witnesses were examined, and the taking of testimony was not concluded until January 22, 1915. The course of the inquiry was enlivened by official statements of a recriminatory character in the public press. A member of the state commission, prior to the beginning of the investigation, accused the presi-

dent of the local commission and the commissioner of charities of open violations of the civil service law and political favoritism in appointments. The mayor criticised the state commission as unfair and actuated by political motives. The state commission retorted that the mayor was seeking to shut off the inquiry. On January 22, 1915, the state commission denied a request of the local commission for a week in which to present further testimony, upon the ground that the term of office of the commissioners would expire on February 1, and the intervening time was necessary to enable it to formulate the report. On the same day the mayor issued a statement in which he characterized "the whole performance as grotesque and a scandalous perversion of power," and attacked the commission as "drum head judges," as "doing the work of the enemies of fusion government in attempting to injure the present administration," and expressed his belief that the administration would before the matter was finally ended "have an opportunity to bring out the facts, uncolored and unvarnished before a tribunal which is just, fair and respectable." This was before any report had been made or any conclusions announced by the state commission.

While the investigation was proceeding, Mr. Whitman succeeded Mr. Glynn as governor on January 1, 1915. Almost the last official act of Governor Glynn was to dismiss the pending "charges," as he called them, made by the civil service reform association against the state commission, with a memorandum completely exonerating them. Governor Whitman, however, was far from satisfied with the state commission, and pressed for their resignations, which he received to take effect on February 1, 1915. On January 28, three days before their resignations took effect, they presented to the governor a report on the investigation, and in a letter accompanying the report recommended the removal of one or more of the local commissioners—a recommendation which we have already pointed out was without legal force. In a summary of the report which was given by the state commission to the press, it was stated that "the civil service has been mishandled in nearly every phase of the administration of the local commission, and the merit system has been greatly abused." The local commission countered with its statement to the press in which it said that the summary given out by the state commission was "full of false statements and deliberate distortions of fact," and promised a reply to the report. The report was transmitted by the governor to the mayor of the city, who forwarded it in turn to the municipal commission. This was the signal for another statement from the mayor, in which he characterized the investigation as "a vaudeville performance" carried on not for the purpose of bringing out "the truth but to make out a case whether it existed or not." The governor on February 1 appointed a new state commission, consisting of Samuel H. Ordway, chairman of the executive committee of the civil service reform

association, Col. William G. Rice, a member of the federal civil service commission under President Cleveland, and William A. McKinstry, a former member of the state commission under Governors Flower and Morton an exceedingly able and, as time has shown, an exceedingly efficient body. To this commission he submitted the report of their predecessors, and asked them to make a further report to him of their opinions concerning it.

The report of the result of the investigation arraigned the municipal commission as weak and inefficient. It concluded that "in some cases the commission has neglected its duty; in others it has not seen its duty; in others it has concurred in evasions and violations; and it has violated the law itself." At the same time it stated that the state commission had found no evidence of malfeasance in the local board, and that "some of the matters criticised have come down from earlier administrations unchecked by any action of former state civil commissions, which evidently have refrained from investigating the New York city commission through fear of attack for interference." The conclusions were based upon cited evidence of a serious character, quite sufficient on its face to challenge the attention and respect of the reader, and to call for an examination of the record to discover whether it was a fair or a garbled presentation of the facts. Exclusive of the matters discussed for which the municipal departments rather than the municipal commission were responsible, the charges against the latter may be briefly—though necessarily imperfectly—classified as (1) of examinations improperly conducted and showing favoritism to special candidates; (2) of revision of examiners' ratings to the advantage of a particular candidate; (3) of appointments improperly permitted without competition for services to be rendered of a professional or expert character, when it was manifest that the services were not of that character, nor the appointee of high and recognized attainments in such qualities as required by the rule, and, in certain instances, of appointments so made in violation of the rule under which the exception was permitted; (4) of permitting an excessive number of exemptions and exceptions, and to positions for which the practicability of competition had been demonstrated; (5) of permitting the continuance in office of provisional appointees for long periods of time, extending in some cases over a year, whereas the law provides that no such appointment may continue beyond two months; (6) of permitting the employment of persons in positions inappropriate to their title; (7) of delaying examinations; and (8) in abolishing the labor bureau as an independent bureau. It is not expedient or practicable in this account to discuss the evidence cited to support these charges, especially in view of the fact that it has been considered by the association and Governor Whitman's state commission, both of which have made reports thereon, and upon the reply thereto made by the municipal commission.

This reply in itself is a ponderous document of 190 closely printed pages. It considers the report of the state commission, paragraph by paragraph, under three headings of "charge," "facts" and "reply," and is not a literary production which by its style at all illuminates the subject. It complains that the municipal commission "was not subjected to an investigation by a fair and unbiased body; but to an inquisition not only into its own actions, during the past year; but into the affairs of other city departments having not the remotest connection with the administration of the civil service law," and that before the opening of the inquiry one member of the state commission had publicly denounced the president of the municipal commission and the commissioner of public charities with open violations of the civil service law and political favoritism. It is not worth while to consider the burden of the defenses. It is sufficient to say that in the majority of instances they are good, that in others they are incomplete, and that in some they wholly fail to meet the charge.

This reply, however, was far from being the end of the matter. The civil service reform association, in the annual report of its executive committee on May 7, stated that "while the investigation disclosed some serious abuses and mistakes of judgment in the administration of the law, yet the report of the state commission based its condemnation in many cases on a misstatement of facts or on trivialities, failed to take account of much valuable constructive work on the part of the municipal commission, and recommended dismissal without adequate cause"; but it specified six matters in which the commission was justly open to criticism, one of which was the much discussed appointment of 47 examiners of charitable institutions. The committee on administration of the association made a lengthy and more detailed report, in which it stated that "an investigation of the charges and answers shows that a large number of the charges made by the state commission were met by the municipal civil service commission," but that there were others which were not met, and which merited discussion, and concluded that "in spite of the hostile and unfair attitude on the part of the state commission, its investigation was productive of substantial results. We believe that, partly as a result of the investigation, the present municipal commission is now in a position to profit by its successes and failures and advance the merit system during the coming year."

The municipal commission did not like the reports of the association, and retorted with a new document of 25 pages, in which it said that the report of the administration committee "is so inconclusive and in many of its features so inadequate that the sub-committee must either have given the record but a superficial review and study or must have lacked a full understanding of civil service administration in New York City . . . and contains evidence that the sub-committee was either unwilling to reach such (an authoritative and expert) judgment or did not have a full

grasp of its subject," and complained that the committee had failed to answer a question raised by itself as to whether or not the municipal commission had come up to the high standard of excellence by which the circumstances of its appointment gave the committee the right to judge it. It then rediscussed various matters as to which it had been criticised.

A final statement by the committee on administration followed, in which it accepted the request of the municipal commission to answer this question, and said "We are glad to answer this question. We refrained from doing so explicitly before because we preferred to allow the executive committee to draw its own conclusions from the facts stated rather than ourselves to draw them, to the probable dissatisfaction of the municipal commission. We do not think that the commission has lived up to the standard by which we deem ourselves entitled to judge them, nor could we think so in face of the facts upon which we have based our criticisms. The commission is entitled to credit for careful and enthusiastic constructive work, superior in many respects to that of any previous commission. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that stands out throughout the first year of its administration, and which is a fault of most commissions, of seeking to oblige their friends in disregard of the righteous administration of the law and to the detriment of that vast body of the public which is unorganized, without a spokesman, and which will inevitably judge any commission harshly if any appointments go by favoritism," and it then referred to the evidence in certain typical cases to support its belief. It concluded by saying that "there is no reasonable doubt in the minds of the committee that the commission during the past six months has been earnestly striving to improve the administration of the civil service, and that it has done so without the exercise of favoritism. In the course of its administration it has accomplished many things worthy of the highest praise," and it reiterated its belief that the investigation by the state commission had been productive of substantial results.

Almost contemporaneously with this interchange of comment and opinion, on May 20, 1915, the new state commission rendered its report to the governor, in which it discussed both the original report of the state commission and the reply of the municipal commission. It begins by saying that the report of their predecessors criticises very severely the administration of the law in the city of New York by the municipal commission and impliedly recommends the removal of the municipal commissioners; that in the summary of the report given to the press their predecessors had stated that "the civil service has been mishandled in nearly every phase of the administration of the local commission, and the merit system has been grossly abused"; that the members of the new state commission cannot agree with these conclusions; that they are convinced

that while the local commission may be justly criticised for certain faults and errors of judgment, yet upon the whole their administration of the civil service law and rules in New York City has been good; that the latter have done constructive work which has distinctly improved the methods hitherto existing, and that there is no sufficient reason for their removal. It then considers and discusses some of the typical matters which are treated in the report of the investigation, omitting others as trivial or as satisfactorily explained in the reply of the municipal commsision. It finds many of the criticisms unjustified, and others which were well founded, one of the most serious being the exception from competive examination of so-called experts, including the noted case of the 47 examiners of charitable institutions. As to the other noteworthy specified occasion of the investigation, the abolition of the labor bureau, it finds no sufficient foundation for criticism, but on the contrary that the change was sound from an administrative standpoint. The report ends by saying that, "Notwithstanding these just criticisms, however, we feel, as we have stated above, that the municipal commission has done such a large amount of good work during the year, as compared with their faults and errors of judgment, that upon the whole they are entitled to commendation," and it specifies the particulars of much of this work, and concludes "that, notwithstanding past faults and errors of judgment which have been referred to, which were perhaps in part due to the fact that the commission took office in January, 1914, and that two of the commissioners had had no previous experience in the administration of the civil service law, the commissioners are endeavoring with the best of intentions and good faith and with increasing success, to uphold high standards and properly administer the civil service law and rules." With this report the matter may be said to be concluded, and it has certainly ceased to have any further public or political interest.

The investigation undoubtedly served a useful purpose, although its origin was apparently malicious and its conduct unjudicial. It had so much of politics in it as to justify the feeling of the city administration that it was intended as a persecution. For that very reason, perhaps, it seized upon the smallest complaint and pursued it to exhaustion. It developed, however, matters which needed correction not only in the administration under the rules but in the rules themselves, and the municipal commission has shown a lively disposition to profit by its results. It did not in itself immediately justify the very large expenditure of money, time and energy which it entailed. It dragged back for about six months the normal work of both the investigating and investigated body, and aroused and distributed considerable enmities, but it has doubtless put an end to many practices which have been a reproach in the past, and has reformed others, and on the whole it has been an enlivening and useful experience to both commissions and to the public.

THE ASHTABULA PLAN—THE LATEST STEP IN MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION[1]

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DURING the last quarter century American municipalities have been making a kind of pilgrim's progress from darkness and chaos toward light and order. While advance is perceptible in all phases of municipal life, it is particularly marked in the matter of governmental organization. There we can point to certain general statutes and special city charters as the milestones which mark the distance traveled along the new way.

Twenty-five years ago our city governments were remarkable only for their complexity, corruption and general ineffectiveness as organs of popular rule. About the middle nineties a movement began, the chief objects of which were greater simplicity of organization and responsibility of action. Shortly before that time the old Cleveland "federal plan" had indicated one method by which city organization could be improved. This was much commented on in its day and became the model for municipal reformers in many states. Then came the Galveston flood of 1900. As a result of that crisis there was developed the Galveston plan of commission government. This was a radical departure from our rigid traditions concerning governmental organization, the first serious blow in this country at the doctrine of separation of powers.

The commission idea as brought forth in Galveston grew rapidly in favor and was soon adopted in a number of other cities. But Galveston was not permitted to occupy the center of the municipal stage for long. In 1905 Des Moines secured from the legislature of Iowa the commission government statute which has since been known as the Des Moines plan. This added the initiative, referendum, recall and improved methods on nomination and election to the commission idea. It was clearly better than the original model, and from the day that Des Moines adopted its new charter the Galveston plan has had little more than historical interest.

On the whole, commission government has proved better than the old style organizations, but it has obvious defects. From the practice of having each councilman or commissioner take charge of a city depart-

[1] This article is the substance of an address delivered at the meeting of the National Municipal League at Dayton, November 18, 1915. Portions of the matter here presented appeared in the *New Republic* of November 27, 1915.

ment there has resulted a certain lack of unity in administration. Each commissioner naturally seeks to magnify the work of his own departments. Log-rolling for appropriations among the commissioners is not unknown. The commission not only decides how much money shall be spent but its members themselves spend the money as heads of departments. Moreover, effective city government demands that heads of departments shall be experts or men trained in their particular lines, and long experience has proved that such service cannot be secured by popular election. Worst of all, commission government, with its elective heads of departments, is not the most effective device for keeping politics out of the executive service of the city where it has no place. The mixing of politics with administration has been one of the fundamental faults of American municipal government and until it is eliminated we cannot hope to approach the measure of efficiency found in English and European cities.

About 1912 it began to be suggested that the commissioners, instead of taking charge of departments themselves, should appoint a general manager who should hold his position at their pleasure, appoint all subordinate officers, and carry out the policies decided upon by the commission. In 1913 three small cities, one in South Carolina and two in North Carolina, adopted this suggestion with some modifications. Then came the action of Dayton under the municipal home rule provisions of the Ohio constitution. When the Dayton commission-manager charter went into operation in January, 1914, the Des Moines plan as the most advanced type of municipal organization went into eclipse. The Dayton plan has been widely studied, copied and praised. Results so far indicate that it deserves most of the claims made for it. A considerable number of cities have adopted the plan and the idea is approved as fundamentally sound by practically all authorities in this country.

But as commission-manager government has so far developed it exhibits one serious defect. The council or commission is elected from the city at large, and with election at large under the usual systems of majority or plurality choice all members of the council may belong to one party or faction of the electorate. A legislative body representing only one party is a serious defect in any scheme of government. In such a body all real discussion is absent, minority parties or groups have no chance to be heard, and partisan interference with administration is likely to be at its worst. Where the city manager plan of government is adopted, a council representing but one group or faction is particularly objectionable. If the people are to yield the privilege of choosing the chief executive officer of the city directly, that power should fall to a body widely representative of the sections, parties and interests underlying the opinions which divide the electorate. In other words, fairness demands that if the council is to have this elective function it should

be a small copy of the entire voting population. Moreover, the strongest hope of preventing the council from making a partisan selection in choosing a manager lies in rendering it truly representative.

Perhaps the most difficult problem in the organization of representative governments has been to secure a legislative body which, while reflecting the will of the majority of the electorate, would at the same time ensure representation to the substantial minority groups of public opinion. The lack of a truly representative legislature, always a defect, becomes vital when the body which determines the policies of the government may also choose and control the executive. Now the little city of Ashtabula, Ohio, has shown for the first time in America how this problem may be solved. There is more than a fair chance that this Ashtabula experiment not only solves the problem of equitable representation but also opens the way to the ultimate form of municipal organization in the United States.

Early in 1914 Ashtabula chose a commission to frame a new city charter, as permitted by the home rule provisions of the Ohio constitution. The commission elected was favorable to the commission-manager plan of government with a council elected at large. Already, however, the objection had been advanced in Ashtabula that a council elected at large in the usual way would probably represent only one party, and that this was not desirable if the council was to choose the manager, who was expected to be a permanent, expert, non-political official. This idea had been brought to Ashtabula by C. G. Hoag, general secretary of the American Proportional Representation League. When Mr. Hoag was later asked to address the charter commission, he suggested as a way out of the difficulty that the council be elected at large by proportional representation. Several members of the commission accepted the idea as sound in theory. One of them, W. E. Boynton, an engineer on the Lake Shore railroad and former president of the city council, embraced the proposal with enthusiasm and became the efficient leader of a campaign for its adoption in Ashtabula.

The commission finally rejected proportional representation as a novelty which, if embodied in the proposed charter, might cause its rejection as a whole by the voters. The charter as submitted in November, 1914, provided for a council of seven members, nomination by a 5 per cent petition, and election at large upon a non-partisan ballot. The charter was adopted. Mr. Boynton at once set about to initiate a proportional representation amendment to the new charter. This amendment was voted on last August. Though the vote was light, proportional representation carried in all but five of the fifteen precincts of the city. In accordance with this amendment Ashtabula elected its first council under the new charter on November 2, 1915.

The theory of proportional representation is that each considerable party or group of opinion should be represented in the council or legislative body in the proportion of its voting strength. Thus if in an election at which seven representatives are to be chosen, the Democrats cast four sevenths, the Republicans two sevenths, and the Socialists one seventh of the vote, those parties should be represented in the council by four, two, and one representative respectively. If the division of opinion is not along party lines, the actual divisions should nevertheless be represented in proportion to the number of voters in each.

In Ashtabula the lines of division in the recent election had little to do with national parties, except that there was a Socialist group. There was first the question of local representation. The harbor district lies at some distance from the city proper, and under the old ward plan had always been represented by one member of the council. Under the usual plan of election at large it would probably not have been represented at all. There is also the question of nationalities. The city has a large foreign element, the chief groups being the Irish, Italians, Swedes, and Finns. The voters are also sharply divided on the liquor issue, the city swaying first to the dry and then to the wet side. Finally there is the question of adequate representation for the substantial business element of the community. It is interesting to note the extent to which these various groups and interests secured representation at the election just past.

The plan of proportional representation adopted in Ashtabula is the Hare system. There are seven members of the council. Candidates get their names on the ballot by filing a petition signed by 2 per cent of the voters. The ballot has no party marks, and the names are rotated. At the left of each name is a square in which the voter marks his preference by placing the figure 1 opposite the name of his first choice, 2 opposite the name of his second choice, and so on. He may mark as many preferences as he pleases, but a ballot can count for only one candidate. To determine the number of votes necessary for election to the council the total number of valid ballots is divided by eight, and the whole number next higher than this quotient is taken as the number of votes required to elect. This number is chosen because it is the smallest that can be taken seven, but not eight, times from the total. In Ashtabula the total number of valid ballots cast was 2,972. This number divided by 8 gives a quotient of $371\frac{4}{8}$. The next higher whole number is therefore 372, the number of votes required for election. The number so established is known as the "quota."

In counting the votes the procedure is as follows: If upon counting the first-choice votes any candidate is found to have received the full quota or more, he is at once declared elected. Any votes which such a candidate has above the quota are then transferred, according to the

highest available choice marked on such ballots, to candidates not already elected. It may happen that several candidates receive more than the necessary quota. In that case the surplus votes are transferred to other candidates in the order of size of the surplus.

Whenever during the transfer of votes the number of ballots for any candidate equals the quota, he is declared elected and no further votes are transferred to him. When all surplus votes are transferred, if enough candidates to fill all the places have not reached the quota, the lowest on the list is dropped and his votes are transferred in like manner. This process continues until the required number of candidates have received the quota, or until, by dropping the low men, only seven remain.

At Ashtabula there were fourteen candidates. Classified according to nationality, two were Swedes, two Finns, one was Irish, one Italian, and eight might be classed as plain Americans. There were seven business men, one clerk and paymaster, one saloonkeeper, one baggageman, one railway engineer, one attorney, one newspaperman, and one physician. While there were Republicans and Democrats on the ballot, there was no intimation of party division except that one candidate was a Socialist. The harbor district had at least three candidates. Seven candidates were members of the present council.

The election went off quietly. There being no important issues at stake the vote was relatively light. A vote of 3,600 would have been large. The total number of ballots cast was 3,334, and of this number 362 were either blank or invalid. It was generally prophesied that the Board of Elections would have difficulty in counting the ballots. Even the ardent advocates of the system feared this, yet when it came to the actual work of the count there was no trouble whatever. Although the Board of Elections was inexperienced and without proper office equipment for handling such a count, the transfer and tabulation of the vote was accomplished in about three hours. At no time were the election officials in serious doubt concerning the steps to be taken.

The result of the election is its most interesting feature. The first eight candidates arranged in the order of their first-choice votes were: McClure, 392, Hogan, 322, McCune, 309, Gudmundson, 292, Earlywine, 289, Rinto, 237, Briggs, 211, Corrado, 196. Only McClure had votes above the required quota, and he had twenty to spare. Apparently no one expected him to win on first count. He is a young, clean, aggressive business man, never before in politics. The transfer of McClure's surplus votes elected no one, and the count proceeded by dropping the low man, and distributing his votes to the remaining candidates. By this process Hogan and McCune were raised to the full quota and declared elected. The remainder of the vote was so distributed that the last four members were chosen by the gradual elimination of the low men. In this process Briggs moved up from seventh to sixth place, and Corrado, representing

the Italians, nosed out Rinto, a young Finnish attorney.[2] Corrado has been a member of the city council for many years, and is well known. He is a saloonkeeper, and represents the wet interests as well as the Italian vote. Rinto is not well known except in his own section. His election over Corrado would have improved the quality of the council, but would have made it less representative. With one exception the seven candidates standing highest on first-choice votes were elected. McCune, Hogan, Briggs and Corrado are members of the present city council.

How well do the men chosen represent the city? McClure is manager of a department in one of the large stores, Hogan is one of the leading physicians of Ashtabula, McCune is a greenhouse man, Gudmundson is assistant cashier of a bank in the harbor district, Earlywine is clerk and paymaster of a large ore company, Briggs is a newspaperman, and Corrado is a saloonkeeper. The business element may be said to have three representatives. The Irish, Swedes and Italians each elected a member of the council. The Socialists elected one member. The harbor district is represented. On the liquor issue three of the successful candidates are pronounced drys, three are classed as liberal, and one as very wet. The opinion in Ashtabula seems to be that, taking both quality and representative character into consideration, a better choice could hardly have been made from the candidates, that the new council will contain more ability than the present one elected on the ward plan, and that it will also be more representative of the entire body of the voters.

Before the election the two daily papers were inclined to look askance at the new system. The day after the count one of them declared: "The drys and wets are represented. The Protestants and Catholics, the business, professional and laboring men, the Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, the English, Swedes and Italians, all are represented. It would be hard to select a more representative council in any other way."[3] The other paper stated: "It is generally conceded that it has given Ashtabula a broadly representative council, probably the most representative body in the city's history, and that is the real aim of the Hare system."[4]

Ashtabula has shown how to elect a council in such a manner as to provide equitable representation for all parties and interests—a plan under which the majority will control, while the minority, or minorities, will have representation in proportion to their importance. With such a system we may reasonably expect that the quality of the council will steadily improve. When groups of opinion come to understand that if

[2]After the results of the election were announced Mr. Rinto made the following statement: "Now we have had the election under this plan, and have elected a representative council which is composed of men from different sections of the city, from different political factions, and different groups of voters, and at this time I am glad to say that I am still heartily in favor of proportional representation as given under the Hare plan, and I hope that the plan receives the hearty co-operation of the people of Ashtabula in the future." Ashtabula *Beacon*, Nov. 5, 1915.

[3]Ashtabula *Beacon*, Nov. 5, 1915.

[4]Ashtabula *Star*, Nov. 5, 1915.

they have a little more than one eighth of the votes they cannot be denied representation in the council, their ablest representatives will be willing to become candidates. Men of high professional and business training will stand for election to the council, because they will be sure that if they really represent their element they will win.

The election of councils by proportional representation opens the way for the introduction of the manager system into the largest cities. Hitherto the objection has been raised that the council as provided in such charters as those of Dayton, Springfield and Cadillac is too small for New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Louis, or even for Boston, Pittsburgh, Cleveland or Baltimore. It is said that if a council of sufficient size to be really representative of the electorates of such cities should be chosen at large the ballot would be so long that it could not be intelligently voted. It is also said that election at large in any of the above-named cities would provide an electoral district so vast that candidates without party or newspaper support or a large amount of money would be seriously handicapped. Therefore to preserve the principles of the short ballot and the wieldy district there has appeared to be nothing left for the larger cities but some form of ward representation. That, however, has been considered fatal to the manager system. No American city would trust a council elected on the old ward plan to choose and control a manager. With proportional representation these difficulties disappear. A council large enough to satisfy the needs of any city can be secured by electing five or more members from each of several districts. Where proportional representation is used, gerrymandering is futile and the same accurate representation of the entire electorate is secured whether election be by districts or at large.

Thus with a council chosen by proportional representation the last serious objections to the city manager idea disappear. The way is opened for permanent, expert service in city administration and for the elimination of politics from that part of city government. Proportional representation will produce a council that may properly be allowed to choose a city manager—a council which is truly representative, whose members stand for policies and the fundamental interests of the community rather than for a more or less artificial party organization. The Ashtabula plan provides for a short ballot, a city manager, and a council chosen by proportional representation. That is the latest word in municipal organization, and no one has yet suggested any point at which further advance can be made.

But the Ashtabula experiment has promise beyond the domain of municipal government. The cities are now the only places in this country where any considerable amount of political experimentation is possible. They are making the largest contributions to our knowledge of new governmental devices. This is particularly true of the cities in those states which, like Ohio, have granted their municipalities a large measure of freedom. Instead of these cities modeling their governments after the

traditional state plan there is now a noticeable tendency of the states to copy city institutions. It is possible that Ashtabula has started a movement which will ultimately lead to the reform of the present demoralizing method of choosing the members of state legislatures and of the lower house of Congress.

THE DISCUSSION ON PROFESSOR HATTON'S PAPER

A Resumé by C. G. Hoag

The questions asked in connection with Professor Hatton's paper, printed in the foregoing pages, were answered partly by Professor Hatton, partly by W. E. Boynton as leader of the supporters of proportional representation in Ashtabula, and partly by myself as author of the Ashtabula plan and specialist in proportional representation.

Question: Cincinnati is a much larger city than Ashtabula, and the number of seats in its council is 26. How could the system be applied in Cincinnati and how long would it take to count the ballots there?

Answer: If the Hare system were applied in a city like Cincinnati, and it were thought best to keep the number of seats in the council as large as 26, the city would first be divided into three or four wards each of which would elect several councilmen. For example, Cincinnati might be divided into four wards two of which would elect six councilmen each and the other two of which, containing a correspondingly larger population, would elect seven each. The councilmen elected by each ward would be elected, of course, by the same proportional system which is applied in Ashtabula to the election of the entire council at large.

Such an arrangement as this would mean that only about a quarter of all the ballots cast for councilmen in Cincinnati would be involved in any one of the four simultaneous Hare counts.

Just how long these counts would take it is impossible to say—perhaps from six to ten hours.

Question: Did the candidates at the Ashtabula election put forward platforms setting forth the policies they would support if elected?

Answer: In most cases they did not. The Socialist candidate, Mr. Earlywine, was perhaps the only one who published a comprehensive platform. In this connection, however, it should be added that in the past it has not been customary, in Ashtabula municipal elections, for the candidates to formulate platforms and run on them. Usually the only issue on which candidates have lined up before the election has been that between the "wets" and the "drys."

Question: Apparently the twenty ballots, taken from McClure's 392 first-choice ballots as the surplus to be transferred to others, were taken at random, in short by chance. Is it not possible that if a different twenty had been taken the result of the election might have been changed?

Answer: It is quite true that the element of chance is not absolutely eliminated by the Hare rules used in Ashtabula. From a practical point of view, however, the element of chance left is only infinitesimal. The whole number of valid ballots cast in Ashtabula was less than 3,000. The surplus ballots in question numbered only 20, that is, about two thirds of 1 per cent of all the ballots. Of course, the number of surplus ballots might sometimes be larger; but it would seldom be more than a small percentage of all.

Next, it is to be remembered that all of McClure's ballots were cast by voters of pretty much the same type: they were all cast by men who preferred McClure to any of the other thirteen candidates. Is it not likely that any batch of twenty of these ballots, taken at random, but in equal numbers from the ballots cast in the different precincts of the city—as provided by the Ashtabula rules—will show *nearly* the same next choices as any other batch of twenty taken from McClure's ballots in the same way? The element of chance involved is very trifling.

Finally, this element of chance, small as it is, can be wholly eliminated if it is thought worth while. As a matter of fact it *is* wholly eliminated where the Hare system is used abroad, namely in Tasmania and South Africa. The method by which it was eliminated in those places—as a concession to people who had not given the Hare system enough thought to understand the trifling magnitude of the element of chance involved—can be illustrated by a simple parable. A mother had three equally beloved children and three very unequal apples. She wanted to distribute the apples to the children fairly. What she did was to cut each of the apples—the fine large one, the medium-sized one, and the mean little one—into three equal parts, and to give a third of each apple to each child. That was a perfect solution of her problem. The solution of the problem of eliminating chance in distributing surplus ballots in a Hare election is quite as perfect. Wherever it is thought worth while, therefore, the mathematically perfect method of transferring surplus votes can be adopted instead of the simpler, and practically satisfactory, method used in Ashtabula.

QUESTION: Would there not be difficulty, in cities where there did not happen to be any thorough students of proportional, in having the ballots counted correctly?

ANSWER: In Ashtabula the count was conducted entirely without aid from those who introduced the system. It was conducted by the regular county board of elections, and the knowledge of the system possessed by the members of that board who took the lead in the count was gained almost exclusively from reading the proportional representation provisions of the charter amendment itself. Any election board having on it one intelligent man who would give the matter a little thought beforehand could conduct the count.

On page 65 will be found a table showing the result of the Ashtabula election at different stages of the count.

A minus sign before a number indicates the taking of that number of ballots from the candidate indicated (whose name is given also at the head of the column) for transfer to other candidates, each ballot according to the will of the voter who cast it.

A plus sign before a number indicates the adding of that number of ballots to the candidate indicated, in accordance with the will of the voters who cast those ballots.

The figures of the table are to be read column by column from left to right, not line by line. Each "result" column shows the results, as regards all the candidates, after the transfer of votes recorded in the preceding column.

ASHTABULA, OHIO. ELECTION OF COUNCIL, NOVEMBER 2, 1915

RESULT SHEET

Number of Valid Ballots, 2,972 Number of Seats, 7 Quota or Constituency $\left(\frac{\text{No. of valid ballots}}{\text{No. of seats} + 1} + \right) = 372$

Names of Candidates	Total First choice Ballots	Transfer of Surplus Ballots (McClure's)	Result	Transfer of Lampela's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Loose's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Cook's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Carlson's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Flower's Ballots	Result	Transfer of Tilton's Ballots	Result	
Fred A. Briggs	211		211		211	+ 2	213	+ 3	216	+ 16	232	+ 20	252	+ 34	286	Elected
John Carlson	138	+ 2	140	+ 1	141	+ 14	155	+ 10	165	—165	Defeated					
M. R. Cook	114		114	+ 1	115	+ 2	117	—117	Defeated							
Nick Corrado	196		196		196	+ 5	201	+ 10	211	+ 32	243	+ 30	273	+ 9	282	Elected
Robt. W. Earlywine	289	+ 2	291	+ 1	292	+ 6	298	+ 11	309	+ 8	317	+ 6	323	+ 38	361	Elected
James H. Flower	147	+ 2	149	+ 1	150	+ 10	160	+ 5	165	+ 29	194	—194	Defeated			
C. O. Gudmundson	292		292		292		292	+ 6	298	+ 12	310	+ 9	319	+ 24	343	Elected
J. J. Hogan	322		322	+ 1	323	+ 13	336	+ 5	341	+ 24	365	+ 7	*372*		*372*	Elected
Robert Lampela	25		25	—25	Defeated											
George H. Loose	107	+ 1	108		108	—108	Defeated									
J. M. McClure	*392*	—20	*372*		*372*		*372*		*372*		*372*		*372*		*372*	Elected
E. R. McCune	309	+11	320	+ 3	323	+ 10	333	+ 3	336	+ 1	337	+ 27	364	+ 8	*372*	Elected
Arthur Rinto	237	+ 1	238	+ 4	242	+ 2	244	+ 1	245	+ 2	247	+ 2	249	+ 14	263	Defeated
E. N. Tilton	193	+ 1	194		194	+ 3	197	+ 3	200	+ 4	204	+ 25	229	—229	Defeated	
Non-transferable ballots				+ 13	13	+ 41	54	+ 60	114	+ 37	151	+ 68	219	+102	321	
Total valid ballots	2,972		2,972		2,972		2,972		2,972		2,972		2,972		2,972	

SHORT ARTICLES

STATE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE MEETINGS

BY WILLIAM PARR CAPES[1]
Albany, N. Y.

THE interest in and the need for municipal home rule in the United States has been forcibly demonstrated in the year's work of the 32 state municipal leagues. If the American cities do not have their powers of local self-government increased through a constitutional delegation of authority, it will not be the fault of the co-operative efforts of city officials. A review of the activities of the state leagues during the year shows that in nearly all states the need for it exists and is appreciated, and that at least eight of the twenty-four active leagues are at work on the problem.

Among the other problems which have generally received the co-operative efforts of organized municipal officials are public utilities and municipal ownership, taxation, forms of government, public health, city planning and the collecting and disposal of garbage.

The reports of all leagues, with the exception of those in Canada, show increased activity in nearly all municipal functions. Several for the first time have publicly recognized the importance of the human side of municipal government and have devoted much time to the consideration of social welfare activities. The Canadian organizations, however, have been compelled chiefly to devote their time devising ways and means for their cities to cope with the unusual disturbed conditions arising out of the war.

The eyes of home rule students during the last six months have been on the efforts of New York state cities through their State conference of mayors and other city officials to secure a delegation of adequate home rule powers by a revision of the municipal article by the constitutional convention. After having conducted a six years' campaign, during which time the conference and co-operating organizations increased municipal powers by state legislative action, the conference during the summer presented to the convention, a proposed amendment drafted by a committee of officials representing all classes of cities and all sections of the state.

It was resolved at the beginning of the campaign that all cities should work shoulder to shoulder, and that no particular class of cities and no

[1] Secretary, New York state conference of mayors and other city officials.

single city should demand or accept any more or less grant of power than the convention would be willing to confer upon all the cities. This action not only made it possible for the cities to present a solid phalanx all through the strenuous campaign, but it put to a severe test the new spirit of unity which the conference has created among the New York state cities. It forced public recognition of the fact that no longer are New York and the so-called "up-state", or other cities, arrayed against each other.

After the defeat of their own proposal the city officials turned the tables on the cities committee by stirring up a strenuous opposition to the amendment. As a result the convention sent the committee's proposal back for revision. The amended municipal article as finally presented to the people was regarded by the conference as merely a constitutional recognition of the principle of home rule. The cities through the conference contented themselves with a statement simply pointing out the defects in the proposal without either approving or disapproving it. With the proposed constitution as a whole, it was buried under an avalanche of ballots. The conference, believing that it is now in a strategically better position than ever before, is preparing to ask the incoming state legislature favorably to consider its original proposal.

While watching and studying New York's campaign and proposal, eight other state leagues have either made demand for legislative action on the problem of self-government or have pointed out the need for a revision of the constitution. Nearly all have laid the foundation for an effective educational campaign.

The leagues of New Jersey, Washington, Kansas, Iowa and New York have during the year taken positive action. Minnesota has called for a constitutional convention. Texas is advocating an enabling act, and Ohio has discussed home rule in taxation. At the same time all of these and others have adopted legislative programs, which show the pressing need for the extention of municipal powers and absurdity of the limitations under which their municipalities are now struggling in an effort to give efficient public service. A review of the legislative authority asked by city officials forces the conclusion that American cities do not deserve so much condemnation for their shortcomings as they do commendation for what they have been able to accomplish under existing grants of power.

The program adopted by the Kansas league is perhaps as striking an illustration as any. At the annual meeting it was decided to ask for legislation on the following subjects: serial bonds which shall not exceed twenty annual installments; giving cities of the second class the right to cut weeds on vacant property and to assess the cost against the property; permitting cities to provide for the collection and disposal of garbage; enabling any cities to adopt the city manager form of government by a

referendum vote of the people of that city; making delinquent water and light bills of municipally owned plants a lien upon the property receiving the service; authorizing cities to assess the cost of water mains against the benefited property; a constitutional amendment reserving to the people the power to initiate and refer laws and constitutional amendments to a vote of people and reserving to localities the powers of the initiative and referendum as to local legislation; reserving to voters of all cities the right to initiate and refer to voters measures of local legislation; authorizing cities to condemn land outside of the city limits for drainage purposes and permitting cities to establish municipal ice plants.

The western state leagues are apparently more keenly interested in municipal ownership and utility problems than are those in the east. The discussion of these questions was one of the features of the annual meetings in Washington, Wisconsin, Montana, Kansas, Illinois and Minnesota. The Pennsylvania league for third class cities has demanded the right for cities to erect and operate municipal boat and bath houses. Washington is seeking legislation relating to the power of municipalities over public utilities. Montana wants municipally owned public utilities eliminated from the control of the state public service commission. In its home rule campaign, New York asked for a constitutional amendment granting to municipal corporations within the state the right to engage in any business or enterprise which may be engaged in by a person, firm or corporation by virtue of a franchise from said corporation. This did not get beyond the consideration of the convention's cities committee.

The Washington league is following the lead taken and brought to a successful conclusion by the New York organization in demanding a reorganization of the state health work. A committee has been appointed to co-operate with the state health department in revising the public health code. New York is now, in co-operation with the state health department, making a health survey of the Empire state cities. Illinois, Connecticut, Colorado and California have discussed various phases of public health regulation and administration.

City planning propaganda work and legislation have been a part of the year's work of Washington, Virginia, Illinois, New York, Minnesota, Texas and California. A city planning survey of the cities of the state and a report thereon was completed by the advisory committee of city planning experts of the New York state conference. This committee also prepared a model ordinance which, if adopted by any municipal legislative body, puts into effect the city planning law enacted by the 1913 state legislature. Washington has appointed a committee to work out a proposal for a city planning conference in connection with the work of the league. California held a three days' city planning conference in connection with the annual meeting of the league. The others discussed at one or more sessions of their annual meetings some phase of the subject.

The interest that city officials through their state organizations are now taking in the collection and disposal of garbage is one of the new features of the year's work. The leagues of five western states, Wisconsin, Indiana, Kansas, Iowa and California, have devoted a part of their annual meetings to a discussion of the problem.

Judged by the action on various plans suggested, the indications are that the state leagues are not yet ready to take a definite stand in reference to the solution of the taxation and assessment problems. All seem still to be groping. Nearly one-half the leagues discussed various plans but definite action along constructive lines was generally lacking. Pennsylvania voted down two propositions, one that taxes be collected semi-annually and the other that a license tax of $100 be levied on professional men. Speakers at the California meeting advocated the proposed constitutional tax amendment in that state. Indiana refused to take any definite action on the proposition to make property assessments at actual value the rule. Connecticut, Virginia and Indiana discussed various phases of municipal taxation and proposed legislation. The meetings in Ohio and Alabama were almost wholly devoted to a discussion of taxation problems. Among the legislative proposals considered by the Ohio league were the constitutional amendment providing that taxes shall be uniform upon the same class of property within the territorial limits of the authority limiting the tax; that federal, state, county, school district and municipal bonds be exempt from taxation; that the exemption of household goods be raised from $100 to $500, and that no bonded indebtedness shall be received unless provision is made to pay interest and at maturity redeem the bonds. New York attempted to secure legislation requiring all cities to provide tax maps and to name the true consideration in all deeds, mortgages and leases, but the legislature refused to act.

As in former years the leagues have continued to discuss forms of government, and at least two, Washington and Kansas, are demanding legislation, which will give a city power to select its form of government by a referendum vote. Connecticut, Michigan, Virginia, Colorado and California have discussed prevailing forms or new ideas in city charters.

Besides these seven subjects, each league has during the year introduced some new function for discussion. Among these have been public milk and water supplies, university training for service, the merit system, street improvements, the initiative, referendum and recall, public libraries, the homeless man, municipal financing, budget making and accounting, excess condemnations, municipal engineering, telephone legislation, sanitation including sewage disposal, grade crossing elimination, sealer of weights and measures, public markets and annexation of adjacent territory. A new problem that is now demanding the attention of city officials and was discussed at three league meetings is uniform auto and jitney ordinances. Montana has been interested in securing an effective

gambling law and several other leagues have introduced the discussion of municipal welfare subjects, such as economics and the woman's movement and child welfare and hygiene.

Along with the legislation and propaganda work which the leagues have been doing, several have been giving practical assistance to their cities through municipal reference libraries and bureaus of research and information. New York has launched a new experiment in this kind of service. The conference in September established a state bureau of municipal information at Albany. This activity is financed by the cities of the state and operated under the direction of a council of five mayors elected at the annual session of the conference. Its purpose is to furnish to any city in the state upon request or when informed through newspaper clippings all available information about municipal activities under consideration; to gather information about municipal problems and improvements and to distribute the data among cities of the state; to keep city officials in touch with each other by distributing among them any new plan devised by any official; to distribute such reports and other literature about municipal government and activities as will aid municipal officials; to watch state legislation affecting municipalities, also, upon request, to represent any city before any sub-division of the state government located at Albany; to keep on file for ready reference the catalogues, price lists, pamphlets and other literature issued by corporations, firms and individuals manufacturing municipal apparatus or products of offering expert municipal service.

While the leagues in the United States have thus been extending their influence and helpfulness along many lines, the Canadian organizations have been compelled to devote their entire attention to the disturbance of municipal finances and the unemployed. In many cities there have been a contraction of income and a curtailment and difficulty of borrowing which have meant the stopping of municipal work. Early in the year the Union of Canadian municipalities prepared a form for the municipalities to fill in the requisite information when they issue and sell a series of debentures. This definite information has helped in selling to bond brokers, and investors. The unemployment problem has been and still is a most serious one in the cities. The union is organizing a conference of representatives of the federal government, municipalities and civic trade and charitable organizations for the purpose of discussing the unemployment problem and co-operating in some practical way to mitigate the effect of the industrial and commercial depression.

In the work of the leagues as a whole, there is no cause for pessimism; in fact all have more than justified their existence. Even the three new ones, New Jersey, Montana and Louisiana, have adopted ambitious programs for the year. Each is contributing its share to the progress that American cities are making and stimulating the keener interest that all

citizens are taking in the efficient management of their municipal affairs. They are blazing trails through the maze of obscurity and uncertainty through which municipal officials have been groping in their search for the health, comfort, and welfare of those they are serving. This is the result of bringing experts and officials in touch with one another, by framing and advocating needed municipal legislation and by acting as a clearing house of municipal information.

Co-operation within states through leagues of officials and in America among the leagues is now one of the potent factors in making municipal service more efficient.

"THE HARRISBURG PLAN": CELEBRATION OF A DOZEN YEARS OF MUNICIPAL BETTERMENT

BY J. HORACE MCFARLAND [1]
President American Civic Association

THE chamber of commerce of Pennsylvania's capital city, Harrisburg, conducted during the third week in September a celebration of the improvements which have made that city over within slightly more than a dozen years. The celebration itself was unique, in that there was included in it a reception tendered to those who had been most influential and efficacious in the improvement movement, and a tour of the city to see the things that had been done.

It is worth while to briefly describe not so much the celebration as the reason for it, because of its relative importance. I believe that there is no other instance on record of so considerable a body of public improvements, so well worked out, being completed within anything like the same time.

Other cities have obtained filtered water; other cities have revised sewerage systems; other cities have proposed and developed park systems; other cities have paved their streets; but I am not aware that any other city than Harrisburg has done all these things concurrently and under expert plan and supervision, as a consequence of the initiative of interested citizens and without the slightest suspicion of misapplication of funds.

Indeed, one of the high lights on the situation is the conspicuous efficiency of the municipal expenditures which have regenerated Harrisburg.

[1] Mr. McFarland, who writes this interesting article about the Harrisburg plan, was himself one of the foremost proponents of the plan in its early days, and has been actively identified with its execution ever since. Under the inspiring leadership of himself and his colleagues, Harrisburg has been transformed from a dull, uninteresting inland city to a community where life is really worth living.—C. R. W.

Not only has the expenditure of the public money been honestly conducted, but it has been intelligently conducted.

At the inception of the Harrisburg improvement movement, some sixty citizens raised $5,000 with which to secure municipal diagnosis and prescription. When the reports of experts which resulted were published, and when the same citizens, with a few others, raised $5,000 additional to convince the citizens of Harrisburg that they should tax themselves to their debt limit to conduct the improvement work, it was *The Philadelphia Press* which first denominated the movement "The Harrisburg Plan," because it proposed municipal expenditure under conditions of expert and intelligent direction, not then as frequently known of as at present.

The story of the inception of the movement and of the successful election which began it was first told at the Boston conference of the National Municipal League, in May, 1902.[2] The celebration of September, 1915, very properly took account of the fulfillment of the fair promise of 1902, and of the carrying through, under the same conditions, of extensions of the original plan.

It is believed that the work thus celebrated presents an almost unique combination of democracy and efficiency in municipal expenditure. Every item in the program was first recommended by experts retained by the Municipal league of Harrisburg, and then voted upon by the people, so that the completest knowledge was had as to what it was proposed to do. In other words, there was the fullest democratic expression upon the propositions for improvement.

The work was done, however, outside the ordinary governmental provisions of cities of the third class in the state of Pennsylvania. The councils delegated the power and the expenditure of the funds, for the most part, to two boards—a board of public works and a park commission. The more important of these boards was named before the first vote was passed, so that the people knew who were to spend the large sums of money they were voting.

Without a break the campaign of efficient and expert supervision has prevailed through the dozen years of active municipal regeneration.

It is not assumed that the September celebration in Harrisburg was of wholly completed enterprises. On the contrary, the people of Pennsylvania's capital city are looking forward to much greater achievements in the future, and it is believed that they will see to it that these further improvements are carried forward in the same efficient manner.

As has been said above, the inception of the movement was with the citizens who formed the Municipal league of Harrisburg. During the

[2]See Proceedings of the Boston Conference for Good City Government, p. 119. Also published in leaflet form by the League entitled "The Awakening of Harrisburg." Price 10 cents.

time since that body came into existence, in 1901, something more than $15,000 has been spent in the obtaining of expert advice, in its publication, and in the promotion of campaigns to bring the facts to the people.

Four loans in all have been promoted successfully, amounting to a total of $2,431,000. In addition, through legal assessment for the paving of nearly seventy miles of streets since the movement began, the people have paid or engaged to pay $2,364,209, making a total of expenditure made or authorized within the improvement period under consideration of $4,795,209.

The scope of these improvements is as notable as is their effectiveness. To begin with, the city has provided and perfected a successful method of filtration of its water supply, under which there is now an abundance of pure water (it is called in Harrisburg "municipal Apollinaris"), kept pure by daily bacteriological and chemical examination; the buildings and machinery handling which provide show places to visit because of their sightliness and cleanliness. The result has been to change a typhoid fever rate more than eight times above the normal for American cities to a rate much less than the normal, within a dozen years of clean water.

Beginning this movement with $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of paved streets, seldom cleaned, and put down at an excessive cost, the city has since paved and curbed $69\frac{1}{2}$ miles, mostly of sheet asphalt, at a very low cost. All of this paving is swept every day, and Harrisburg's streets are continuously clean.

In 1902, the notable river shore in Harrisburg was principally notable because it was a dump. The outfalls of various sewers made this dump most unpleasantly odorous. A small stream known as Paxton Creek, running parallel to the Susquehanna carried an excessive amount of sewerage, and was a continuing and disgusting nuisance.

In addition to revising its general sewerage system by the installation of many important sewer lines, Harrisburg has built two great intercepting sewers to care for all its drainage, and has as well removed all the nuisance of Paxton Creek by paving it throughout its entire length in the city. The nuisance on the river front was also removed by erecting, in connection with a notably beautiful park development, some three miles of step protection along the whole of its water front. These steps are in two stages, between which a fourteen foot concrete walk, properly lighted, affords a promenade of unique attractiveness.

An important viaduct connecting two parts of the city, and affording relief from several serious and dangerous grade crossings, was rebuilt in concrete upon a monumental and beautiful design, giving Harrisburg, in addition to the transportation facilities, an exceptionally handsome and substantial viaduct which was built at a cost so low as to afford continual wonder to investigating engineers.

In 1902, Harrisburg had two small unmaintained parks, aggregating 42 acres. In 1915 it enjoys the use of 21 parks, parkways and playgrounds, aggregating 958 acres, efficiently maintained for the use of the people.

In 1902, Harrisburg had one acre of parks to each 1,260 of its population, while in 1915 it was one of the three cities in America having a notable acreage relation in supplying one acre of parks for every 76 of its population.

The change in park attendance has been no less notable, for in 1902 it is estimated that there were less than 50,000 visits, while in 1915 there were approximately 1,800,000 visits to the Harrisburg parks.

All this notable and harmonious body of public improvement work, which has resulted most favorably in every way for the city of Harrisburg, has been carried out upon shrewd and capable financial lines, with constant reinvestment of the city's sinking fund and interest savings, and with the gratifying result that whereas in 1902 it was promised that the tax rate would not increase to more than ten mills by 1906, that rate has not yet been reached in 1915.

The total cost, on the basis of the present population of Harrisburg, has been $65.54 per person for the entire term of the improvement effort, or an average of $5.04 per person per year for improvement work.

When in the celebration the question was asked "Has it been worth the money?" the answer was a vociferous shout of "Yes!"

Incidental to these municipally-financed improvements there have been going on many other betterments which would hardly have occurred had not the city undertaken in its own capacity to advance its living conditions. Several other important bridges have been erected. The Pennsylvania railroad has changed and greatly improved its freight facilities, has removed grade crossings, and has made ornamental a great bridge which was previously very ugly. Very many private business buildings of fine character have been erected. Streets have been parked, and residences of an improved grade have been built in large numbers. A new residence suburb, involving an expenditure approximating a quarter of a million dollars, and working into the city's park plan, has been put through.

It would be unfair in this survey to omit reference to the fine spirit of the people that has made so great an improvement possible, and that has continuously supported those who have done the work in economy and efficiency. It is for this reason that I may again and properly recur to the statement that the work done is a conspicuous instance of that proper combination of democracy and efficiency which can only come about when the people are consulted and convinced.

To get a fair comparative view of the Harrisburg achievement it might be well to note that to parallel it the city of New York would have had to spend upon the unselfish subject of expert advice for municipal betterment, $975,000, to guide a municipal expenditure in complete efficiency of approximately $320,000,000.

Or, to do as well, Philadelphia would have had to pave with complete efficiency about 1,400 miles of streets, provide 18,000 acres of parks, improve with parking and protection all its river front, both of the Schuylkill and the Delaware, change its lighting, and efficiently filter all its water—and all without even a suspicion of graft!

That Harrisburg does not intend to stop was well shown in the forward vision of Hon. Vance C. McCormick, at the celebration.[3] He drew a fascinating picture of what the city might do and probably would do, and the enthusiasm of the people upon finding that municipal expenditures of this sort are actually investments is likely to make his dreams come true.

THE SUNDAY QUESTION IN CHICAGO

BY VICTOR S. YARROS[1]
Chicago

ONCE more Chicago is wrestling with the eternal Sunday question—by which, of course, is meant the question of Sunday liquor selling. It has a certain periodicity; it has come up every five years or so, but Mayor Thompson's recent *coup d'etat* has introduced dramatic variety into the familiar comedy. His action was like the proverbial bolt from the blue sky. It was a startling surprise to the whole community, and apparently even to some of his close political friends. Everybody is still wondering and asking what his motives were and under what compulsion he acted as he did. Many are wondering also how long this act of the comedy will last, and whether there is soon to be a mayoral order, or wink, or nod, that will bring the curtain down and announce another act.

But the better to understand the present queer situation it is necessary to summarize the earlier parts of the story.

Legally speaking, Chicago has no special Sunday saloon question. The Sunday closing law is state-wide, is in full force "on paper," and

[3]Former Mayor McCormick in his speech on this occasion said: "I wish I could enumerate to you from my own personal experience the names of those faithful citizens to whom honor is due, but if there is one man above others who stands out pre-eminently as a patriot in all these years of improvement campaigns, it is J. Horace McFarland, the creator of our park system, and who, to my mind, has done more than any other man for the parks and public improvements of Harrisburg." Editor.

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 448.

makes no distinctions or exceptions. If the saloons have been open in Chicago and a few other Illinois cities on Sunday, and closed everywhere else in the state, the reasons for the discrepancy are found in the facts of life. In Chicago it has been, for over forty years, deemed "impossible" to enforce the Sunday closing law. The cosmopolitan character of the city's population; the size of the city and the number of its subdivisions and foreign "colonies"; the influence of the Germans and other citizens of European traditions with reference to Sunday amusements and recreations; the organization of "the United Societies" of hyphenated Americans for the purpose of defending "personal liberty" and local autonomy; and of defeating "dry" candidates for local or state offices—these and other factors account for the fact that the Sunday closing law has been a "dead letter" in Chicago.

Few aldermanic candidates and no mayoral candidate (except the avowed Prohibition candidates) could be induced expressly and definitely to promise, even before an election in which the Sunday law was made an issue by certain embattled groups, to enforce that law or to breathe life into it. Sincere, aggressively honest and intelligent men like Professor Merriam have, as candidates for mayor, either avoided that issue or frankly told the voters that it was not their intention to shake the dust off the Sunday law and try to enforce it regardless of popular sentiment, or the pendency of other and more vital issues, just because "it is law." The newspapers of the city, as a rule, have discouraged the Sunday law feature of local political campaigns and approved of the passive or the hostile attitude of the candidates. Occasionally a newspaper changed its position between campaigns; but when vital and important issues were being fought out—issues like public utility regulation, compensation for franchises, etc.—the press ignored the Sunday question or even boldly advises the candidates to tell the people that the saloons would be left severely—or genially—alone.

It is merely stating a fact to say that heretofore the progressive and broad-minded citizens of Chicago have taken little interest in the Sunday question. They have realized that it meant political suicide for any mayoral candidate to pledge himself to enforce that unpopular statute. They have not cared to invite candidates to commit suicide. They have had work to do, or to get done, which demanded the serious attention of the mayor, the council, and the public.

But latterly there have appeared indications that the Sunday question was entering upon a new phase. For example, Professor Merriam, as a member of the city council, has urged legislation which the liquor and saloon interests have regarded as being deliberately unfriendly. His wife has personally investigated various low-grade dives and dance halls and has furnished proof of the fact that many of the saloon keepers will not obey even elementary regulations designed to protect the young, to

impose external decency and to restrain commercial vice. Professor Merriam wants the liquor interests to refrain from meddling perniciously and destructively with municipal politics. He has proposed a certain tentative classification of saloons and suitable regulation for each class. Other aldermen of independence and creditable records have declared war on the law-violating saloons for other reasons or from other motives. In short, the atmosphere was changing. A few hotels recognized this and closed their bars on Sunday at the demand of the Prohibitionist or Sunday-closing crusaders. The steady advance of prohibition in the country at large has been a factor of considerable influence, no doubt, especially with impressionable aldermen. And if a few convictions for violation of the Sunday closing law had at last been secured, it can hardly be doubted that public prosecutors, mayors and aldermen would have come to regard their respective duties in the premises in a new light.

So far, however, it has been impossible to secure any convictions. Juries in Sunday saloon cases have either disagreed or else have returned verdicts of acquittal, and this in spite of explicit instructions from the Bench, the clearness and completeness of the evidence submitted by the prosecution, or the manifest legal weakness of the case of the defence. Juries have maintained this attitude simply and humanly because they know that in Chicago the Sunday closing law had long been honored in the breach rather than in the observance. They have regarded attacks on particular offenders as unfair, spiteful and unreasonable. Several years ago a firm, if narrow-minded, state's attorney persevered and tried case after case; but not a single conviction was he able to secure.

The Prohibitionists and the advocates of "law enforcement" have also vainly tried other methods—for instance, they have sought to obtain a writ of mandamus against the mayor compelling him to close the saloons on Sunday. The highest courts of the state have decided, however, that mandamus will not issue in such a case, and their reasoning has been approved by the fair-minded and informed lawyers. There has repeatedly been talk of an effort to impeach or indict the mayor of Chicago for failure to perform his sworn duty and enforce the law as it stands. This talk, when indulged in against a "radical" mayor like Dunne, was regarded as insincere and reaction-inspired. Certain privileged interests were believed to have conceived the idea of using the Sunday issue as a club, or, at least, as a means of diverting and confusing the public mind. When the same threat was renewed against Mayor Thompson, whom no sensible person regards either as a civic reformer or as a competent, consistent and vigorous administrator, it was not taken seriously by anybody; the "interests" were with the dashing, impulsive, boyish mayor, and neither impeachment nor indictment proceedings, had they really been attempted and pushed, would have had the slightest chance of a successful issue.

Hence it is literally true that no one expected the mayor to pay any attention to the agitation or the threats of the dry leaders or the advocates of law enforcement "because it is law." Not a single editorial appeared in the Chicago daily press advising the mayor to close the Sunday saloons. Even though the conditions, as stated above, were undergoing a change, none of the neutrals thought the time was ripe for such an order from the mayor, and certainly none thought that the particular gentlemen who calls himself "Big Bill," who was known as a "sport" and friend of the sporting fraternity, who was elected largely on the sham "Prosperity" issue, and who loves parades, displays, proclamations and pomp, would suddenly issue such an order.

However, the order came. It was an order which, if the mayor "meant business," had to be obeyed. It was not an order to arrest offending saloonkeepers and start the judicial mill grinding. Such an order would have caused little alarm. But under our code the mayor has the power to revoke licenses for cause, and the deliberate violation of a state law would naturally be treated as ample and sufficient cause for revocation of licenses.

Why did Mayor Thompson issue the order? His own explanations are rather mixed and contradictory. In the first place he took the bold and virtuous or heroic line: He had been informed by the corporation counsel, his legal adviser, that the Sunday anti-saloon law was valid and binding, and that left him without an alternative. His own affiliations and habits, his own views concerning Sunday, his own desires and preferences, were irrelevant and immaterial. He was mayor; he had taken an oath to obey and enforce the laws—all laws—and he could not make an exception of the Sunday law. Now, if Mayor Thompson had only stuck to this explanation, his position would have been plausible enough. True, few would have believed his protestations; he would have been charged with political ambition, with vindictiveness—for the wets are said to have contributed but little to his campaign fund and to have spoken slightingly of his chances—with spectacularism and love of notoriety and sensations. Still, officially and formally the position would have appeared unassailable.

Unfortunately, the heroic attitude was too unnatural and trying for the mayor. He too soon offered further and different explanations—he had heard that his enemies were seeking to procure his indictment by the grand jury; he had heard that the foreman of a grand jury was privately conferring with prohibition and law-enforcement leaders; he did not care to face indictments and trials. A touch of opera-bouffe was added by his reported remark that the Christian Scientists had been praying for him and for the enforcement of the Sunday law.

Furthermore, when the united societies for local self-government, or the wets gave out a copy of the pre-election pledge signed by Mr. Thomp-

son—a pledge against Sunday law enforcement which was too explicit an evasion—proof even for far more artful dodgers, the mayor floundered badly. He had "forgotten" the pledge incident; he could not tell whether the signature was genuine without carefully examining it; at any rate, the pledge was merely "personal, not official"—as if a promise to veto certain ordinances and disregard certain laws could be made by a candidate for office in a "personal" capacity, and as if anybody would ever care to obtain personal pledges from otherwise important men in such circumstances.

In a word, the more the mayor talked, the more his enemies, old and new, rejoiced. Even those who approve of his action are pained and embarrassed by his maladroit and tactless utterances. Only some of the aggressive Prohibitionists are lauding the mayor and predicting great things for him. The average observer is distinctly contemptuous. Nothing will surprise him, for his faith in the mayor is weak, if not a negative quantity. The mayor is not enforcing "all laws." His appointees are emasculating the city civil service law. He is opposing budget reform and resisting attempts of the city council at investigation of certain city departments. Nothing about his "policies" is calculated to inspire the least confidence or respect.

Very typical, for instance, are these comments of Chief Justice Olson of the Chicago municipal court:

> The situation is getting somewhat mixed, evidently. It reminds me of the old days, when our Sunday school teacher seemed to take great satisfaction in bringing in reformed gamblers and drunkards to tell us "kids" how to live. We winked at each other and saw the humor of the situation, and I now know that the "kids" had the situation sized up correctly. We always took more seriously the advice of men who had always lived right rather than in talks of the men who had sown their wild oats.
>
> In these days of mixed politics the "old soaks" are going "dry" and the "drys" are going after the "old soaks." But it won't last long. We will soon sober up and be for the fellow who, as the girl says in the play, "is a regular fellow."

The future, therefore, is uncertain. There will be much fighting and political scheming and plotting in and out of the legislature, and the situation is bound to get more and more mixed before it begins to clear up. We are to have a sort or referendum on the dry and wet issue in Chicago. A direct referendum on Sunday closing is apparently impossible, for how can you submit, at public expense and under public authority, the question whether a state law held by the courts to be valid and live is or is not to be obeyed by mayors and other local executives? "Home rule" with regard to Sunday, a measure generally advocated by reasonable men, the legislature is not likely to grant in the near future.

Meantime the attitude of the press is very curious and comical. The mayor's action is formally and half-heartedly "approved," but are the authorities of the county, and of the villages and small towns in Cook county, urged and admonished to follow Thompson's example and to enforce the Sunday law because it is law? By no means. The officials in the aforesaid places are doubtless perplexed, but the press is not anxious to come to their relief by any definite line of advice and reasoning. Furthermore, as ex-Mayor Harrison has reminded us in an anti-Thompson speech of a most incompromising kind, no newspaper has advocated the enforcement of the law imposing the general property tax on the ground that law is law and that the way to repeal a bad law is to enforce it strictly and to the letter. On the contrary; the disregard of that law has been generally applauded and defended.

The simple truth is, there is much cant and hollow pretense in the local treatment of the Sunday question. It is safe to say that the future of that question depends on the future of the Prohibition and anti-saloon movement. Facts and public sentiment will—as they should—determine future policy with reference to Sunday closing. The melodramatic and sensational antics of this or that big or little politician have their ephemeral interest, but important questions are not settled by cheap and erratic demagogues, any more than they are settled by dogmatic fanatics. Mayor Thompson is a symptom. His coup is a symptom. Sober-minded citizens know that they have a real and difficult problem to solve in connection with the saloon and with Sunday recreation and amusement for the masses. The American saloon must be reformed; the poor man must have his "club"; substitutes must be found for the institutions we abolish because of their vileness or demoralization—or our last state may be worse than the first.

FIRE LIMITS DISTRICTS AND THEIR IMPORTANCE

BY C. T. BISSELL[1]
New York City

A PERSON building a house in the country may have a right to jeopardize his own life and property and those of his family, and take chances with the companies selling indemnity against loss; but there is no question that the owner of property in a city or town has no right to erect a structure which will be a menace in case of fire to the safety of the property of the adjacent owner. The latter principle has long been recognized. It has been conjectured by some that the great fire in Rome of A.D. 64 was started by Nero's orders, for the purpose of

[1] Engineer, Committee on Fire Prevention, National Board of Fire Underwriters.

getting rid of the congested timber dwellings with thatched roofs in narrow, irregular streets, so that he could have the thoroughfares straightened and widened, and build thereon large and beautiful palaces and public buildings; this was a harsh remedy to serve the purpose. Boston first passed building regulations in 1679, and it is to be presumed that these effected construction in a restricted district or what was becoming the business center.

Most American cities of over 15,000 population have established fire limits districts. The primary and essential idea of establishing these districts is to afford protection to the business sections of towns and cities by prohibiting the erection within and in close proximity to them of readily burnable construction. Manufacturing sections should properly be included in these districts, but very often are not. It is not consistent to assume that districts containing the better construction in a city do not need to be protected from exposure from buildings of frame and ordinarily cheaper types. More frequently than otherwise a conflagration starts in a wooden section and if the wind is right and the buildings are dry it gains sufficient magnitude to destroy the brick, stone and concrete sections also. The Hot Springs, Arkansas, conflagration of 1913 started in a low value, frame dwelling section, swept over a large residential area, communicated to and destroyed part of the business district, involving 133 acres of ground space in all. The Houston, Texas, conflagration of 1912 started amongst a group of low value buildings, spread over a section three to seven blocks wide and one and a half miles long, destroying thirteen industrial plants, eight stores, 119 dwellings and two cotton compresses.

Restrictions of these districts usually prohibit combustible roof coverings and frame construction, though allowed exceptions to the latter frequently seriously detract from their value. The size of districts, or distances beyond the actual grouping of high value buildings in a business center, varies between very wide limits in different cities. It is an exceptional case when they are sufficiently extensive to fulfil their intended purposes and not need extension at intervals of a few years in the growing city. Their extent is often determined without apparent foresight. Not infrequently persons whose properties would be affected by the building restrictions have sufficient influence with governing city officials to have their property exempted. This leads to ragged and ludicrous looking lines between the restricted and unrestricted sections resulting from the special privilege granted through personal influence and friendship governing their establishment. Limits are frequently along lot lines instead of including whole blocks. It is not an uncommon practice to establish limits at certain distances back from street lines; this allows almost any kind of a building or shack to be erected in close proximity to one of the best kind.

Physical improvement of the fire hazard of a city may reasonably be gradually accomplished by restricting construction in three divisions. The first should apply to the whole area within the city limits, with mandatory minimum of requirement for construction and anticipating future development. Stricter regulation should then be made for construction of buildings, and their internal and external protection against fire in the secondary district or primary fire limits, and finally for superior construction and protection in that section which is strictly mercantile, with valuable buildings closely built, containing high values in their contents and housing few to many employes.

Outlying and residential sections in most cities have been and are still being built largely of frame, and probably will so continue until owners appreciate that it would be a part of wisdom and self-interest to adopt a better method in every case where the building is to be of a permanent character. Points that seem to be overlooked are the greater rate of depreciation, greater cost of repair, less rental revenue and that less money can be borrowed on them on satisfactory terms. The insistent and plausible arguments of the lumber interests, the speculative builder and over-zealous tenement landlord are doubtless largely responsible for this prevailing type. Allowing that this class of construction will continue, the record of conflagrations should awaken city officials to their responsibilities and cause them to insist that the flying brand hazard in these sections be made negligible by requiring the substitution of the incombustible for the prevalent and somewhat cheaper combustible roof covering, usually shingles. The records of causes of fires in fire department reports show a surprising proportion to be from sparks on shingle roofs in cities where they are prevalent.

Cities are slowly awakening to the necessity for action. Among those having an ordinance prohibiting shingle or wooden roofs in any part of the city, either on new buildings or in renewing roofs on old buildings are Augusta and Savannah, Georgia, Tampa and Jacksonville, Florida, Richmond, Virginia, Birmingham, Alabama, El Paso, Texas, New Orleans, Louisiana, Wilmington, Delaware, and Paterson, Perth Amboy, Hoboken and Trenton, New Jersey. Some others have partial restrictions. Meridian, Mississippi, adopted a city-wide shingle roof ordinance in February, 1914, to take effect May 1. The operation of this was suspended until July 1 and during the period of suspension renewals of shingle roofs were unusually frequent, to get the benefit of a new lease of life for the commonly used roof covering. It is reported that the ordinance has been rescinded.

The necessity for restriction of building construction as a means of protection to a central mercantile section is self evident and almost universally recognized as such by municipalities in the adoption of fire limits which usually include and cover a varying amount of territory

outside this section. It is highly important that these limits be extensive and since it has been demonstrated that the cost of superior construction is only slightly in excess of frame, to practically prohibit the latter in all except outlying residential districts would entail no real hardship upon owners or lessees of property; in other words to make the fire limits practically coextensive with the city limits. Improvements along the line of better construction can only come gradually; old buildings cannot be torn down at once and rebuilt, but city governments and the individual should see to it that the building construction of the future should be a benefit and not a menace to other structures. Better building construction will gradually reduce the excessive annual fire waste. A pre-requisite to the successful operation of fire limits districts is a set of adequate, comprehensive and stringent building laws, competently and impartially enforced. The laws of many cities have in the past been insufficient and loosely drawn, indifferently observed, and seemingly considered self-operative. Previous to last October an Ohio city of about 90,000 population had no regulations covering the design and construction of reinforced concrete buildings. In that month a reinforced concrete building in course of construction there fell down and killed three men. The city has now adopted modern regulations providing for competent supervision of this commonly used type of building construction. During the past few years the laws of numerous cities have been revised and generally with considerable consequent improvement. Several states have also enacted buildings laws or regulations applicable throughout the commonwealth. Prescribed standards of construction promulgated as federal regulations would be an excellent and most desirable means of obtaining country-wide structural betterments.

Boston for several years has been considering the extension of its fire limits and the prohibition of future frame construction which predominates in its suburbs. An extension of the fire limits was made last year; after having been in force only a short time the council voted to abolish the new limits, but this action was vetoed by the mayor. It may be presumed that after the Salem conflagration, the opposition in Boston to the new fire limits will find less argument to oppose them. Prior to 1912 the fire limits of Chicago covered about 40 per cent of the area within the city and in that year about 35 square miles were added to the territory. Recent proposals for further extensions advocate fire limits extending to the city boundaries.

Philadelphia and St. Louis are notable examples as having fire limits covering practically all sections of the city that are well built up. Frame structures are few and far between. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is in the same class.

Most American cities for some years to come are not likely to succeed in enacting a law prohibiting the use of wooden structural material, at

least in buildings up to four stories in height. However, Seattle has established a district which includes part of the congested value district, within which fire-proof construction is required and New Orleans has an inner section within the fire limits known as the fire-proof area, including about two-thirds of the congested business district, within which certain buildings of specified occupancy must be of this type of construction; several other cities have advocated restrictions of similar kind. The beneficial effect of such restriction will doubtless be seen in the next few decades. The hoped-for character of the fire-proof building as a conflagration break has been considerably discredited in two great conflagrations, and in the recent Edison fire; but it has also been shown that the American tall building is, in conflagrations, the innocent victim and not the aggressor. If conflagrations are not to involve the valuable fire-proofs, the latter must maintain a proper system of window protection.

OMAHA'S PERSONAL REGISTRATION LAW

BY JOHN EWING ORCHARD
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POLITICAL intrigue and corruption of every kind have been common in the politics of Omaha and Douglas county, Nebraska. At one time it was the usual thing for a band of floaters to be imported from a neighboring city to the river wards at every important election. The better citizens endeavored to clean up; but the interests in control of the public officials were too powerful and the efforts of the reformers bore little fruit. Finally a movement was started to bring relief from without. Due to the fact that Douglas county is by far the most densely populated county in the state, it has an important influence on the politics of Nebraska, for it is in Omaha that the gubernatorial or senatorial races are usually decided. For that reason, the citizens of even the most remote agricultural districts are interested in the manner of conducting elections in the state metropolis.

Accordingly, a bill changing the election system of Douglas county was introduced into the legislature in 1912 as a general act, but worded to apply only to the one county. It was passed in spite of the opposition of "the organization." The law itself was modelled after similar legislation in Oregon, Ohio, and New York.

The new law, sometimes known as the "Honest Election Law," has three features that distinguish it from the old law: The management of elections is placed in the hands of an election commissioner; registration is permanent, and a citizen may register any day in the year during the regular office hours.

The election commissioner is appointed by the governor for a term of two years and is subject to removal by him at any time for cause. The expense of his office is borne by the county. The commissioner has control of all the elections held in the county,—state, national, city, school district, and special, as well as the regular county elections. In his hands is placed the appointing of all necessary officials—judges, clerks, and office assistants. He also appoints as his personal representative in each voting precinct a deputy commissioner or inspector who has charge of the polling place on election day. All these officials are removable at his pleasure. All election supplies are ordered through the office of the commissioner and the ballots are returned to him after the election. The official canvass of the votes takes place in his office. The efficiency of the law, of course, depends primarily on the character of the election commissioner and the officials appointed by him.

Probably the most important feature of the new law is the change in the system of registration. Under the former law, three days were set aside each year for registration. The registrations were taken in the voting precincts by officials hired only for the occasion and therefore inexperienced. A voter could register in several precincts, if he so desired, with small chance of being detected. Only his name and address were taken and there was no organized system of checking up the registrations. At the end of a year, the registration expired and all the work had to be done over again.

With the enactment of the present election law, there came a change in the old order of things, as the political gangs soon found out. Registrations are taken every day in the year during the regular office hours at the office of the commissioner by experienced clerks. The registration is very complete. Not only are the voter's name and address taken, but also his birthplace, the length of time he has lived in precinct, county, and state, his party, a detailed personal description, his age, his occupation, and his signature. Four copies of each registration are made, one registration to a sheet, known as the original and duplicate registrations and the original and duplicate election registrations. The registrations for each precinct are bound in loose-leaf, locked ledgers. The original registration copy remains in the central office and the other three copies are for the use of the inspectors, judges, and clerks on election day. Thorough as this system is, there is still the opportunity for fraud. To eliminate this as far as possible, the inspectors, the officials who are in charge of the polls on election day, are sent out during the ten days preceding each election to investigate personally the new registrations. If a man cannot be found at the address he has given on his registration, he is challenged. This challenge stands and the man cannot vote unless he can produce an affidavit signed by himself and two duly registered voters of the precinct proving that he has told the truth regarding his place of

residence. Every two years, immediately before the general election, a complete census of the voters of each precinct is taken by the inspectors and the registration lists are checked with the census. In this way the registration records are kept up-to-date.

Finally, the registration is permanent. Until the voter moves from the precinct, his registration remains on the books. A removal automatically acts as a cancellation. The permanent registration saves money for the county and time and trouble for the voter. When a voter was required to register every year, many preferred to lose their votes. Now, with the permanent registration and a chance to register at any time, even the most indifferent citizens are taking an interest in the elections.

Many reform laws have seemed ideal in theory, but have proved to be failures in actual practice. The important question is how has the new election law worked in Douglas county. To begin with, the governor of the state was particularly fortunate in his selection of the first commissioner. In 1913 he appointed Harley G. Moorhead, an Omaha attorney, who organized the new department and is now in charge .

Perhaps the greatest recommendation of the reform is the storm of protest it has brought forth from the political bosses and gangsters. Not an election passes, but some ward-heeler, whose henchmen, temporarily residing in the city, have been turned away by the registration clerk, savagely denounces the reform methods. Threats of personal violence have even been made against election officials. The better class of citizens, republican and democrat, are unanimous in their support of Commissioner Moorhead.

A few figures may be interesting. On July 1, two years after the office of election commissioner was created, there were 30,000 voters registered in Omaha. In addition there were 5,000 on the records with challenges entered against their names. These challenges are for various reasons. Some are entered merely because a man has moved since registering; others are on account of mistakes or lack of information on the registrations; and still others are because of fraudulent registrations. In the two years that the office has existed, about 7,500 registrations have been challenged. Of this number, only about 500, or 7 per cent, have been removed. It is a significant fact that of the 5,000 challenges on the books at the present time, 2,300 are from the four wards considered as the machine wards, four of the smallest wards in the city. The four wards, containing a little over 20 per cent of the voters, have almost 50 per cent of the challenges.

As well as the system has worked, there remains one necessary addition. It is an addition already in force in New York City. There the keepers of all hotels and rooming houses are compelled by law to furnish to the election authorities before each election a sworn list of the guests

in their establishment together with the length of their residence. This list is used in checking up the registrations. An effort was made to pass such a law at the last session of the Nebraska legislature, but this time the politicians were on guard and, after the bill had unanimously passed the house, it was buried in a committee of the senate.

POLICE TELEPHONES IN NEW YORK CITY

BY HENRY JAY CASE[1]
New York

WHEN a boy was lost in Peter Stuyvesant's time, the town crier clanged the warning through the lanes of Nieuw Amsterdam. To-day, the telephone speeds the alarm for lost boys, automobiles, murderers, thieves, over the length and breadth of Manhattan Island, and four other great boroughs as well, in less time than it took the town crier to get his staff and bell.

New York City is credited with being the most difficult city in the world to police. Its great area of land and water and its cosmopolitan population combined make it difficult to patrol. Some of the police precincts are larger than the biggest cities on the Atlantic coast. Some of them contain 250 miles of streets. The largest foot-post is two and one-half miles long. The largest bicycle post is 50 miles. Without electrical devices it would take an army corps to do so acceptably the work now performed by the small division of uniformed men.

Police telephone and flash-light lines completely wire the greater city, and the business transacted over this system is almost beyond belief. There are 6,000,000 connections made annually from the telephone bureau alone. Police headquarters is directly connected with all police courts, hospitals furnishing ambulance service, district attorney and coroner's office, public and semi-public institutions and every elevated and subway station as well as ferry stations.

An alarm raised in any precinct of the city may be immediately flashed to headquarters, and from there to each one of the 96 precincts of the city, and even beyond into the region of the suburban zone in a remarkably short space of time—less time, indeed, than it takes to record the fact on paper. Railroad stations may be covered, bridges closed and ferries watched in case it is necessary to shut the doors of escape across the Hudson to New Jersey, or over the East river or the upper bay to Brooklyn or Staten Island. All this is done by men of the uniformed force sitting before the switch-board at headquarters, and through them by the invisible fluid to the sharp-eyed detectives and patrolmen. But as good as it is, under the present administration each

[1] Of the New York Police Department.

meeting of the inspectors and the commissioner brings out the perfection of some detail, and a resultant steady improvement.

Notwithstanding the growing efficiency of this wonderful system of control, those wanted by the police not infrequently get away. Sometimes they slip through the first line of communications, to be picked up by the second. And again, they get by precinct lines, ferry and railroad terminals, only to be caught in the outlying suburban zones by police officers of another city or state.

Up to a short time ago, the system of communication consisted only of telephone lines from headquarters to precinct stations, and on to a limited number of posts in each precinct. These posts or "boxes," so called, were originally installed for the purpose of placing in the hands of the patrolman a direct wire to the lieutenant on his station-house desk. But when the patrolman had left his box, there was no way of calling him back until he returned to make his hourly report. The flash-light fills in this break in the connection. It is attached to the electric light posts on the street curb, and has five lenses. It may be seen in the day-time at a distance of 600 feet, and at night it is discernible nearly 2,000 feet. Attached to the same post is the iron "box" containing the telephone equipment. By turning a switch in the station-house, the lieutenant on the desk flashes the light on any post at intervals of four seconds. That light continues to flash until the officer wanted sees the call and goes to the telephone box and removes the receiver from the hook.

A citizen call-button is also attached to the "box," by means of which he may call an officer by merely pressing the button and lighting the lamp overhead, which throws a steady ray while the button is being pressed. Thus, by telephone and flash-light combined, all policemen on patrol are placed under the immediate supervision of the commanding officer at the station-house. He in turn is in direct communication with police headquarters and in case of an emergency the entire patrol force may be concentrated in a very short time.

The alarms at ferry houses, bridges and railroad terminals (flash-light and telephone) play a most important part in the interception of criminals, and the recovery of stolen property, particularly with the apprehension of automobile thieves and persons attempting to avoid arrest by trying to leave the jurisdiction of the city, is made possible although the fugitive may have a start of minutes and sometimes hours on his pursuers.

In the suburban sections of the city, such as the outlying districts of Queens, Brooklyn and Richmond, where the police stations are far apart, there has been established a system of police booths. In each booth, officers provided with a bicycle or motor cycle are stationed at all times. These booths have direct telephone connection with the station-house, also with the public exchange service. Booklets and

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maps are distributed to the residents giving the telephone number and location of booths, and other important information.

By these means, the large number of patrolmen otherwise required to cover that great amount of territory is eliminated, and the resident is provided with means of calling an officer, even more quickly than if a thousand patrolmen were walking posts. It takes but a minute to call the police booth, and only another two or three minutes for the patrolman to respond on his wheel, his place being immediately filled by another man from the precinct house who is sent out to relieve him.

Police Commissioner Arthur Woods is a firm believer in this auxiliary electric service, because it not only increases the physical efficiency of the department, but as such immediately becomes a powerful moral hazard to the crook who is about to commit a crime, and is therefore one of the very best preventive facilities that the Department possesses.

For many years, about twice the number of men on patrol during the day were assigned to patrol the city at night. The day force required is now fully as large as the night. But at the present time, however, few commanding officers will go back to the old idea of doubling the night patrol, and the utilization of electrical devices is, in a large measure, responsible for the change.

AN INDUSTRIAL TENDENCY WHICH PROVIDES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE CITY PLANNER

BY THOMAS ADAMS [1]

Ottawa

IN "Satellite Cities" [2] we have an illuminating study of a modern tendency in industrial conditions in America—the tendency to remove industries from crowded centers to rural and semi-rural districts. It was precisely such a movement, among some of the great industrial concerns in England in the eighties, that formed one of the chief arguments that were used to secure the necessary public support to enable the first garden city to be established in that country. Fortunately for England two of the concerns which took part in this movement had at their heads men of great vision and statesmanlike qualities with the result that they took the opportunity which the transfer of their factories to spacious surroundings provided, to lay the foundations of two model industrial communities. The Bournville, of Messrs. Cadbury, and the Port Sunlight, of Messrs. Lever, both referred to in

[1] Town Planning Expert, Canadian Commission of Conservation.

[2] Satellite Cities. By Graham Romeyn Taylor. New York: D. Appleton & Company. National Municipal League Series. $1.50.

Mr. Taylor's work, became object lessons not only of the success which could attend industrial migration into comparatively rural areas, but also of the great value to the manufacturer of having healthy living conditions for his workers. There is paternalism in both schemes, but it is no more than is exercised in many American communities from more selfish motives, and in any event it is more than counterbalanced by the benefits which accrue to the citizens. Both schemes have been successful; they have retained all their original spaciousness and beauty, and they have that appearance of orderliness, architectural quality and social amenity which is unfortunately still lacking in those satellite cities of America which have their origin in industrial decentralisation. These two examples were largely responsible for the more democratic schemes that have since been carried out at Letchworth, Hampstead and elsewhere, and they were not without considerable influence on the British government in connection with the town planning legislation of 1909. Bournville and Port Sunlight have been specially successful because they possess those social qualities which, as Mr. Taylor deplores, are still lacking in the American industrial suburbs he describes. The chief source of trouble in the American examples of suburban development, even when planned and regulated on improved lines, is the absence of any control over land speculation. The desire to improve the homes of the workers must be strong enough to inspire those who have the power to create new industrial settlements to face the difficulties which have to be met in preventing gambling in real estate. When actually faced, these difficulties will be found to be less formidable than they appear, and, unless faced at the outset of each scheme, no real success can be possible. It is this difference in the motive underlying the paternalism of the American and English industrial suburbs of later years rather than in the fact of the presence or absence of paternalism that furnishes the chief difference between them.

There are parallel cases to Gary and Pullman in England, equally successful up to a point in maintaining a certain æsthetic standard, and equally unsuccessful after a period of time in securing any real improvement in the living conditions of the workers. Saltaire near Bradford is perhaps the most prominent example. It was founded by Sir Titus Salt with the same benevolent intentions as those which inspired the founder of Pullman, and it ended in the same way in leaving its founder disappointed and misunderstood. Perhaps in both cases the promoters were in advance of their time or were subject to unfortunate local circumstances, but in any case neither experiment can be cited as an example for others to follow. Of the more recent developments the absence of control over land speculation appears to be the chief cause of failure to get satisfactory results.

If, however, Mr. Taylor leaves the American reader somewhat disappointed with the measure of success which has so far attended these benevolent enterprises on this side, he has shown us that lessons are being learned and that a gradual improvement is taking place. The mere fact, which he proves, that decentralization of industry is going on, is in itself a matter for congratulation. It gives America the opportunity which England has been putting to good use for the past generation, to attack congestion and land monopoly by a flank movement from the outside. As systems of transportation improve, the centrifugal tendency will be encouraged, and, as it develops, the pressure in the centres will become more and more relieved. Until this relief takes place, the carrying out of reconstruction schemes like Mr. Burnham's for Chicago will be more or less impracticable. That is one reason why it is of greater urgency to plan and control suburban development than to prepare re-planning schemes for central areas. Preparation should be made at once to control these new developments as they occur, to secure the proper planning of the areas likely to be built upon, to lessen the evils of speculation in land, and to secure co-operation between cities and adjacent municipal areas. State legislation to give the necessary power to effect this control is the most urgent need in America to-day in connection with any question relating to civic improvement.

As Mr. Taylor says, "While we spend years in reconstructing civic centers only to have our schemes stalled by costly obstructions of brick and mortar and suspended by condemnation proceedings, city extension as a process is going on every week and every month on the edges of our cities." That sentence is both a criticism of and a challenge to American city planners, who have been somewhat slow in realizing the urgency and importance of planning suburban areas. If proof of this urgency is needed it will be found in the work under review, and even in the bare figures given on page 5 which show that whereas the increase of workers in thirteen large cities was only 40.8 per cent in ten years it was 97.7 per cent in the surrounding zones during the same period; and this "sweeping current" is surely only the beginning of a movement which will be accelerated by every improvement in systems of transportation and every increase in the pressure of taxation in the central areas.

The satellites of Chicago, Cincinnati and St. Louis illustrate what Mr. Taylor rightly says is a "general failure to bring city planning to bear where it will count for most," namely, in the expanding suburbs of the great cities. This is his principal message and he delivers it with all the greater emphasis because he has understated rather than overstated his case. The parenthetical chapter by Miss Jane Addams dealing with the paternalism of Pullman and entitled "A Modern Lear" is of course good reading, although I think it would have been more appropriately included as an appendix, as, for my part, I should have preferred to

have followed Mr. Taylor's practical argument straight through without a break.

This book is timely. It is a clear and judicial statement of a case which needed presentation and it should be closely studied by every town and city planner. The appendices contain interesting comments and give an added value to the book. Perhaps the most significant communication is that of Mr. Bush, president of the Bush terminal company, New York, who refers to what is certain to be a potent cause of industrial decentralization in the future, namely, the planning of suburban factory areas adjoining union terminal depots of railway companies. Schemes of this kind have been successfully promoted in several large cities, *e.g.*, its success in St. Paul has led to the planning of a similar depot in Minneapolis. We are only at the beginning of developments of this character on this continent and it is because we are at the beginning that there is urgency in dealing with the problem.

The accumulation of town and city planning literature makes it difficult for students of the subject to select what is most helpful and informing. As one who is forced to make a selection and has read every word of Mr. Taylor's book, I am glad to recommend it as worthy of careful study by every one interested in civic improvement, and particularly by those who are engaged in the practice of city planning.

THE DEFEATED NEW YORK CONSTITUTION[1]

BY WALTER T. ARNDT[2]
New York City

THE defeat of the proposed constitution in New York State last November represents a lost opportunity for the people of the state to accept an instrument of government vastly superior to the one they are living under. This statement may be contradicted; but no student or expert in government or administrative efficiency and no man who has kept abreast of the times and understands the lines along which progress is being made to make our forms of government fit new conditions and meet new demands, has any doubt on the subject.

The proposed constitution did not go nearly so far in many directions as men who have been devoting themselves to governmental reform could have wished. It did not include many provisions that have come to be considered, in greater or less degree, essential to a proper reform of the machinery of local and state government. It left many things undone

[1] See article by Prof. Charles A. Beard on "The New York Constitutional Convention." NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 637.

[2] Secretary of the Municipal Government Association of New York.

that most publicists and students of government heartily hoped would be done. It was a foregone conclusion that no constitution that could be drafted would please everyone. Probably no one expected such a result. Necessarily there had to be an adjustment of differences of opinion to meet the wide divergence of views among members of the convention as well as among those groups of citizens, organized and unorganized, outside of the convention, who had specific proposals for reforms which they hoped to see incorporated in the completed instrument. As a result many of the provisions bore the marks of compromise. To the uncompromising radical, as well as to the equally uncompromising reactionary, such adjustments appeared to be enough to damn the whole document. To those who recognize that almost all progress and reform has been the result of compromise the completed constitution represented a logical and natural "next step forward." To them it promised a real improvement over existing conditions and an advanced ground from which future progress would be less difficult.

Had the constitution been defeated by a narrow majority or even had the majority against it been under 100,000 votes, it might do to analyze the instrument section by section and endeavor to discover in what respects if at all this adverse majority might have been turned into an affirmative majority. But with a majority of more than 400,000 votes cast against it, the application of any such analytical method would be a mere waste of time. It is clear that the defeat of the constitution was not so much due to what it included or to what it did not include, as to certain conditions and factors that only indirectly and secondarily were determined by the constitution as submitted.

An examination of these conditions brings to light certain facts that are well to bear in mind whenever and wherever a similar attempt to revise or reconstruct the machinery of a state government is attempted. These facts have an added significance for the reason that the total number of votes cast on the constitution probably exceeded in number the votes cast at any previous referendum in American history. They have an added interest because the constitution was not submitted as a partisan document and, as the result showed, the division of sentiment was not along party lines. What then were the elements in the defeat of a constitution framed by some of the keenest and best trained minds in American public life, a constitution which admittedly was an unusually satisfactory product of constructive statesmanship, a constitution which was probably the most progressive ever submitted as a whole to any large body of American electors?

A glance backward in the history of New York State is necessary to bring to view the political background which had an important influence on the result. The constitutional convention of 1894 was contrived by the Democratic party. Presumably safely entrenched in power, they

submitted the proposition for the constitution and it was adopted. The convention elected in 1893, however, was very largely Republican in its make-up. Republicans controlled the body and the Democratic delegates left the convention refusing to sign the instrument and thereafter opposed it at the polls. It was carried in the fall of 1894 by a majority of 83,295 in a total vote of 738,099.

That constitution, still remaining in force, provided that the question of a revised constitution should be submitted to the electors in 1916, or earlier if the legislature so determined. The Progressive movement of 1912, with its emphasis on constitution reform, brought up the subject somewhat earlier. The Democrats, after being out of power almost continuously for sixteen years, were again in control of the legislature and the state government. Expecting to take advantage of the Progressive schism they had the question of a revision of the constitution submitted to the electors of the state in the spring of 1914. There was very little discussion of the matter in any part of the state. The strong Republican counties showed, with few exceptions, majorities of from two to five to one against the question. An unexpected vote in New York City, however, in response to Democratic organization "orders" carried the day for the proposal. But the total vote cast was pitifully small. Out of 1,781,712 registered electors, only a little over 310,000 voted on the proposition which was carried by a margin of 1,353 votes.

Irregularities in the count in New York City resulted in judicial proceedings in the course of which it developed that approximately one thousand votes recorded for the proposal were fraudulent. It has always been contended by those who were familiar with the situation that many more could have been proven fraudulent had it not been for a decision of the court of appeals which virtually estopped the proceedings.

The "demand" then for a revision of the constitution was voiced by only 153,000 voters in the state. This fact has an important bearing on the result of the referendum on the completed constitution. It is clear, therefore, at the start that there was no widespread or organized advocacy of a general revision of the constitution. Whatever some people may have thought respecting the necessity for constitutional changes—and doubtless there were many thousands who did believe and still do believe in that necessity—there was certainly a very small proportion of the electorate who felt that a general over-hauling of the basic law was required. There could be no other explanation of the fact that only about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the registered voters held this view with sufficient conviction to cast a favorable vote in favor of such a revision.

Attempts were made to provide through the legislature a method by which candidates for delegates to the convention might be chosen at the primaries and at the general election on a non-partisan basis; but both parties looked with distrust on such a plan and it was defeated. When

the time came for the election of delegates the political pendulum had begun to swing back. As a result the Republican delegates-at-large were chosen by an average majority of approximately 100,000 votes and the Republicans, and not the Democrats, elected a large majority of the district delegates thereby insuring that whatever revision was done would be done by a convention under Republican control. This, however, as events proved, did not mean that the Republican party as such was committed to a revision in which it had shown little interest and to the proposal for which it had probably contributed a majority of the votes in opposition.

Both Republicans and Democrats had nominated able men for membership in the convention. Both had adopted platforms setting forth certain things which they declared ought to be included in a constitutional revision. How many of these proposals were advocated for political effect it is hard to say. Certainly, the result seems to indicate that some of them were of that character. For, as the campaign subsequently showed, it was not the proposals which were first voiced in the convention itself that were most violently attacked in the revised constitution, but proposals for which both political parties in state convention had declared their advocacy. A large proportion of the electors who had been stirred in greater or less degree by the reforms in social and governmental methods during the past few years, were convinced that little or nothing in the way of progressive constructive statesmanship could be expected of the convention. The strongest group in the Republican majority was made up of men of wide repute in the state and in the nation. But whether these delegates came from New York City or from the up state cities they were recognized as lawyers—"corporation lawyers" they were usually called—of a conservative stamp. Few of them had been interested in any movement of a progressive nature in the past. The same was true of the Democratic delegates, who naturally divided themselves into two groups. The first group consisted of a number of influential lawyers who were or had been closely connected with great public service corporations. The second consisted of an active group of younger men, most of whom had won prominence in Tammany Hall or in the legislature.

Looking at the make-up of the convention, therefore, the average voter, who had hoped any revision might embody certain progressive principles, felt that he had absolutely nothing to hope for from anything it might produce.

The convention met in April. Almost three months was consumed in what to the man who was not closely following the convention seemed to be merely an attempt to get under way. A large number of proposals were submitted to the convention. The newspapers, devoting a considerable part of their space to the European war, had little to record or

little to say editorially, in fact could say but little of what was really being done in organization of the committees and the consideration of the scope and character of the proposed revision. They did, however, take the opportunity to chronicle the introduction of a vast number of fantastic or reactionary proposals. Their readers early got the notion that the convention was doing nothing, or that what it would do eventually was to bear some resemblance to the sort of propositions which were submitted to it. They were in error, but there was no one to correct the error and the impression remained. An electorate alive to a demand for a revision would have looked farther than this but an electorate whose interest had not been aroused simply did not take the trouble to find out. Democrats generally, disappointed at being unable to control the convention, were inclined to see nothing good in it and rather expected that it would be made a Republican party measure which they could safely vote against when it was submitted.

Machine politicians of both parties, who had accepted with equanimity the demands for the short ballot, budgetary reform and reorganization of state departments and municipal home rule, when they were submitted merely as platform propositions, suddenly awakened to a realization that these reforms put into practice would increase the demand for efficient public servants and thereby decrease the opportunity for the use of public office as patronage. Long before the convention adjourned, the machine politicians of both great parties, therefore, were pretty generally lined up against it.

The Progressives, starting with the idea that nothing was to be expected from the convention, passed through a period when they began to be disappointed that it was really accomplishing so much, and ended by being hopelessly divided in advocacy or opposition, according as to whether they were willing to subordinate their party advantage to the accomplishment of real results or not.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is probable that no convention ever met for which so much intelligent preparation had been made. All over the state groups of men interested in constitutional reforms had been working for months studying the needs of the situation and trying to formulate definite proposals to remedy abuses or meet new conditions. There had been general discussion of constitutional problems in newspapers and in conferences and conventions. Organizations like the Academy of political science, the Bureau of municipal research, the state and local bar associations, the City club of New York, Citizens union, and Young Republican club of New York, the Municipal government association, Civil service reform association and the State conference of mayors, had had special committees at work on the subject months before the convention met. The labor unions met and formulated their demands. The state granges considered various prop-

ositions, and an "agricultural conference" made definite proposals for constitutional reform. Engineering bodies were active in studying propositions that entailed a reorganization of the state's public works policy and administration.

This, then, was the situation, when the convention adjourned on September 11 and submitted the result of its labors to the people.

Two points are important to bear in mind in this connection. One is the date of adjournment; the other is the form in which the constitution was submitted. The present constitution which consists of 154 sections is considerably longer than the average state constitution. The convention made it longer. While the greatest and most fundamental changes were incorporated in entirely new articles or sections, there were many lesser changes scattered throughout the constitution. Many of these were merely verbal or rearrangements of old material. As a matter of fact, 74 sections remained wholly unchanged and a majority of the remaining sections were changed only in some minor and comparatively unimportant detail. Nevertheless, the substantive changes and new matter were really of considerable length. When printed in black-faced type as new portions of the revised constitution, they appeared to be much more extensive than they really were. Unimportant and superficial as this factor may seem, it nevertheless contributed to the result by giving the voter who attempted to study the new constitution by himself the idea that very little of the old constitution remained and that in voting for the new he was voting for a complete change in the state's basic law. This frightened many voters away. They complained with some justice that they had not time to get an understanding of such a far-reaching revision. Those who were provided with means whereby they might acquire such an understanding, probably as a general rule, supported it. Those who were frightened away from it by the extent of its proposed changes or by inability of themselves to understand it, voted against it.

There remained after the adjournment but six weeks in which to acquaint the electors of the state with the extent of the changes and their meaning. As a matter of fact the active campaign for its adoption was scarcely under way a month before election day. A "committee for the adoption of the constitution" was organized to carry on a non-partisan campaign in its favor. This committee, consisting of some of the leading men of the state, with Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., as chairman and Judge Alton B. Parker as vice chairman, distributed over 2,000,000 pamphlets explaining and advocating the revised constitution. Local committees were formed; meetings were held throughout the state. Three-fourths of the daily newspapers urged their readers to support the constitution. But the time was too short. Three months would have been little enough time in which to accomplish such a difficult task.

Assuming that the average voter will not vote for a proposition that he does not understand, even if he has a high regard for the opinions of the men who framed it, the proportion of electors who voted against the constitution merely because they did not have the time or opportunity to find out for themselves what was in it, must have contributed very largely to its overwhelming defeat.

Closely related to the shortness of time as an element in its defeat, it must be admitted, was the form in which the constitution was submitted. Had it been submitted as a series of amendments to the existing constitution or had the important articles been separately submitted as revised, there would have been a strong possibility that some if not all of them would have been approved. Here again the shortness of time would have rendered the campaign difficult; but it is certain that the policy of the convention, however logical and reasonable, in submitting the constitution practically as a whole resulted in much opposition which might have been focused on specific amendments.

Many people who acknowledged that the constitution contained many valuable constructive proposals, nevertheless opposed it because it contained some single thing to which they objected. To them the inclusion of this one objectionable proposal—or in some instances the omission of something they desired—justified them in opposing the whole instrument. They were not ready to forego their own advantage or subordinate their feelings in regard to a single defect in order that the people as a whole might have a better constitution. Had the various articles been separately submitted their objections could have been very largely met. They could have voted against the particular thing which they objected to and could have given their support to other reforms which they approved. Why, then, it may be asked, realizing that such a pooling of interests in opposition might have been avoided, did not the convention submit the various articles separately? The answer is that the framers of the new constitution considered that their work represented a coherent and systematic attempt to make the government of the state more responsible, more representative and more efficient and that they believed its submission in separate articles would result, if some proposals were adopted and others failed, in a disjointed and unworkable governmental structure.

The defenders of the constitution thus found themselves in the position of a prize fighter who enters the ring and issues a challenge to all comers to meet him at one and the same time. Naturally, he is set upon from all sides and many of the blows he receives are "under the belt." However logical the attitude of the convention in submitting the constitution as a whole instead of as separate articles, it is certain that this method had the disadvantage of attracting the opposition to the whole constitution of men who were really opposed to only one or two things in it.

Although, as has been pointed out, it was not so much what the constitution contained or did not contain that brought about its defeat, as it was due to other factors of a political and social character, all predicated on the underlying fact that there was no real demand for a revision of the constitution, anyway, nevertheless, the elements that were lined up against the constitution are worthy of some consideration in any survey of the forces that led to the overwhelming defeat.

In the first place, politicians of all parties were against it. They were against it because they disbelieve in efficiency in government when that efficiency means, as it almost always does, a cutting down of the party patronage, and an elevation of the qualifications necessary for office-holders. They were against it because it tended to consolidate offices; they were against it because it tended to fix responsibility, which no politician enjoys; they were against it because it tended to bring the government out into the open, when they would rather have it do its work in the dark; they were against it because political machines through habit have always favored a government that is invisible rather than one that is visible. Secondly, the state office holders were against the proposition, their objection, like almost all of the other objections, being a selfish one; they did not want to see the state government made more efficient and more responsible if that efficiency and responsibility entailed a consolidation of departments and an elimination of waste and duplicated effort.

Thirdly, the municipal civil servants were against the constitution. Their opposition was based on a fear of municipal home rule. Heretofore, municipal office holders have seldom gone so far as openly to oppose the principle of municipal home rule, however much they may have opposed it in secret. The fight on the constitution brought them out in the open. It brought together on the same plane not only the policemen and firemen and street cleaners and office clerks, but the school teachers. All made common cause in opposition to a proposal which would enable cities to be the masters of their own employees and control their own payrolls. These civil servants have formed the habit of going to the state legislature when they want anything done. To their minds this method had these advantages: In the first place, the civil servants of one city could count on the support of organizations of other civil servants of the same class in other cities. A proposal advocated by the policemen of Buffalo could almost always rally to its support the policemen of Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, and New York City. In the second place, this habit found favor with the civil servants because they could operate in the legislature as a general thing with less danger of publicity for their methods, than if they had to seek the same thing from a local legislature. This opposition of the civil servants to the municipal home rule in the New York constitution indicated the growth of a class feeling among municipal employees.

which is certainly one of the most dangerous menaces to efficient municipal government.

It is especially disquieting to find the school teachers, on whom devolves so much of the duty of teaching the rising generation a proper conception of good citizenship, making common cause with and descending to the level of those who, to use the words of Croker, are "working for their own pockets all the time." It is well that this opposition has been disclosed as clearly as it has been in this campaign. It ought to be possible to remove this menace by proving that there is no danger in having the control of municipal office holders vested in the government of the community which they serve.

The labor unions were against the constitution. Their state organization submitted a great many proposals to the convention. These were introduced in the regular way and referred to the appropriate committees. Some of them demanded that certain portions of the constitution be left unchanged; others demanded radical constitutional changes. Practically half of these requests were agreed to. No other class or group of the state's population received a favorable response to so many of its demands. Yet, because they did not get all that they asked for, they decided to oppose the whole constitution. Their chief opposition was due to the fact that there was not removed from the constitution a provision conferring certain powers on military tribunals which has been in every constitution of the state for almost a century, which has never heretofore proved in the least dangerous and which nobody until very recently, had thought might be dangerous.

These constituted the chief elements actively opposed to the constitution. But there were others that are worthy of notice. Organizations of sportsmen were led to oppose the constitution largely through misstatements which made them fear that they were to be restricted in their shooting or fishing privileges. Opposition among the granges was fostered on the old argument that the short ballot undermined the representative character of government. Many radicals opposed the constitution because it did not provide for the initiative, referendum and recall and because they apparently believed in good faith that were this constitution defeated another convention would be held in a few years which would be more radical.

The Republican state committee formally endorsed the proposed constitution. Their action was little more than a form due to the urging of Republican leaders who believed that the work of a Republican controlled convention meant Republican responsibility. As events showed it met with little response. Democrats remained, on the surface, neutral. As a matter of fact, they were hostile. No public action was taken by them, but some influential Tammany delegates who had voted for most of the articles, and signed the document, believing they saw political

advantage in the constitution's defeat, eventually came out against it. The day before election the Tammany organization, without public explanation, sent to every enrolled Democrat a ballot showing how to vote against the constitution. This move was more effective than any number of high-sounding resolutions.

The opportunity lost in November does not mean that everything that was accomplished by the convention is lost. There is little chance that the electors will vote favorably on the proposal to hold another convention, which must be submitted next fall. Their adverse vote last November was not so much in opposition to the revision submitted, as it was an indication that no thorough revision is demanded. Many of the great constructive reforms embodied in the defeated instrument are certain to be submitted as separate amendments in the near future. And it is more than likely that when the voters of the state have an opportunity to pass on separate proposals for a state budget, or state reorganization or municipal home rule, their affirmative response will be clear and unmistakable.

The fact that the women's suffrage amendment was voted on at the same time as the proposed constitution unquestionably increased the size of the vote on the latter. Oddly enough, judging from a survey of the returns, it probably increased the majority against it. The granting of votes to women was a proposition on which most men had definitely made up their minds one way or the other and were ready to express their opinion by their votes. Yet thousands of these same men had formed no definite notion as to the more complex problems involved in a vote on the constitution. In this frame of mind thousands who were convinced so far as suffrage is concerned but who would ordinarily not have voted for a constitution one way or the other that they were not ready to favor definitely, followed a natural inclination and cast their votes against the constitution.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Charter Revisions.—*Attacks on the Commission Plan.* The first principle of commission government, the unity of powers, still has a fight to maintain itself. *Spokane, Wash.*, succeeded at the election on November 2 in defeating two amendments. One would have made the corporation counsel and the other the comptroller, elective officers. The administration of the corporation counsel had been unpopular owing to what was popularly regarded as his excessive compensation under a contract of services entered into with the commission. An amendment to reduce the salaries of the commissioners from $5,000 to $3,600 was successful. A well-informed local correspondent says: "It is probable that the commission form will receive a severe strain as the result of this election, since we have failed for the first time to get unusually capable commissioners. This was the third attempt in five years, and it was the more serious in that the proposals were masked. We won out by pounding it in that the amendments were really aimed at its destruction."

On the same day as the Spokane election, the people of *Salem, Mass.*, adopted Plan B, that is the old federal form of municipal government, under the optional city government law to supersede the commission plan which has been in force under a special law since 1912. The reasons for this change the writer has been informed are:

"The compelling sentiment lay in the fact that as a result of the Salem conflagration it became necessary this year either to increase the tax rate by at least 33 per cent or to increase the valuations throughout the part of the city which was not burned. The assessors found that the valuations in the city had been very much lower than the actual value of the property, and went through the entire city reversing valuations.

"This, in itself, aroused great indignation on the part of the people whose pocketbooks were affected; and, added to that was the fact that the assessors were very untactful in handling complaints, and the city council, for a time at least, was apparently backed up the assessors. A few days after the tax bills went out the disgruntled element started a petition for the adoption of the new charter, and over one thousand voters signed it in two or three days, seeing in this the opportunity of reaching the assessors."

Lynn, Mass., turned down precisely the same proposition, on the same day, leaving to Salem the distinction of having been the first and only city in the United States to abandon the commission form.

The city manager plan continues to receive accessions. Watertown, N. Y., on November 2 adopted Plan C under the optional city government law by a vote of 2488 to 1891; Portsmouth, Va., also adopted the plan. A new charter of this type was also adopted in Albion, Mich., on November 9, the vote being 601 for to 281 against.

Richmond, Va., has one of the most complicated charters of any city in America. In addition to a bi-cameral legislative body, the voters elect a treasurer, commissioner of revenue, city sergeant, sheriff, collector of taxes, high constable, chancery court clerk, city circuit court clerk, law and equity court clerk, mayor, and an administrative board. The mayor appoints no one but a stenographer;

the administrative board appoints all the institutional, public utility and engineering officers; the bi-cameral council appoints all the fiscal, public safety, and legal officers. The superintendent of schools is appointed by the state board of education.

That this system is thoroughly unsatisfactory appears to be universally admitted, for both the City Council and the civic association have appointed committees to study the problem of a new charter. The city manager idea seems to be in the air but none of the interested parties appear to be reconciled to a complete simplification of the city government. The latest step on the part of the council committee is to adopt a resolution recommending that the legislature be asked to pass a bill allowing a judge of the hustings court to appoint a charter commission.

It should be borne in mind, however, in Virginia cities are for most political purposes not included with the counties of which they are a part. County officers are, therefore, to a considerable extent duplicated in cities.

Passing of the New England Town Meeting. After 175 years of continuous existence as an incorporated town, the citizens of Leomister, according to the Worcester, Mass., *Gazette*, changed its form of government on November 2 and adopted a city charter. A total of 1,264 voted in favor and 1,123 against a change. The new charter will take effect immediately, a city election being held the third Tuesday in December.

From general statements made by prominent citizens of this town, a change has been thought desirable on account of the increase of population, and the need of a new form of management of town affairs.

H. S. Gilbertson.

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Preferential Voting.—In *Spokane*, Mayor Fassett was widely known from his election by the preferential ballot during his absence from the city out of a list of 92 candidates for the city council. Later chosen mayor by the council he was re-elected on November 2. He made no contest whatever but simply attended to his duties as mayor. His margin, though slight, was sufficient. The number of candidates of whom he was one of three chosen, was 36. He is the first mayor to be re-elected in twenty years in that city.

In *Cleveland*, the preferential ballot enabled the clearly predominant sentiment of the voters to prevail over the minority. Peter Witt, the highly progressive candidate—more progressive it appears than the city was ready for—had a comfortable plurality in first choice votes, but was defeated by the second and other choice votes accumulating behind his chief opponent. There were six candidates in the field.

Recent results in Spokane and Cleveland fulfil the expectations of the more thoughtful advocates of the preferential ballot that in large cities it will for some years at least be unusual for any candidate to prove sufficiently widely and favorably known, purely on his own personal merits, to secure the support of a majority of those who express first choices. It may be well to state once more that the preferential ballot is advocated merely as the safest and simplest known means for protecting, in the choice of public officials, the majority interest against machine, special or too advanced interests. It cannot, of course, insure a majority for the winning candidate—no system of voting can do so in any but a factitious sense—but it probably offers a greater likelihood than any other known practicable procedure that the winner will be of a type reflecting the majority sentiment of the community.

It should not be overlooked that the explanation of the confessedly good results in Grand Junction which the opposition offered in the recent campaign, namely, that there has been such an abundance of good candidates, is evidence in support of the familiar argument in behalf of the preferential ballot, that the elimination of the primary and the introduction of the preferential system together operate strongly to induce candidates of high grade to stand for office.

Since the last report in these columns the number of American cities which have adopted the preferential ballot, has increased to 48 with a total (1910) population of 2,514,260. The cities to be added to the list[1] are:

	Population 1910
1915, Bradley Beach, N. J.	1,807
1915, Irvington, N. J.	11,877
1915, Paterson, N. J.	125,600
1915, Asbury Park, N. J.	10,150
1915, Bayonne, N. J.	55,545
1915, New Brunswick, N. J.	23,388
1914, Columbus, Ohio	181,548
1915, Toledo, Ohio	168,497

In Columbus, it should be noted that the system is applied only to offices for which only one candidate is to be chosen, these being the offices of mayor, city attorney and auditor. For some reason it was locally considered that election of several from a group as in Spokane, by the preferential ballot, was not expedient. For these offices they quite unnecessarily clung to the double election system.—

LEWIS J. JOHNSON.

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Street Railway Decisions at the Polls.—The month of November, 1915, was notable in the struggle for the settlement of long-standing street railway controversies. Detroit voted on a municipal ownership plan, and Toledo and Des Moines voted on franchise-renewal plans.

The *Detroit* plan was recommended by the street railway commission appointed by Mayor Marx to carry out the municipal ownership mandate given by the voters in April, 1913. This commission is composed of three extremely able business men. Two of them, James Couzens and John F. Dodge, belong to the new Detroit group of "gasoline millionaires." Couzens was for a dozen years the financial wizard of the Ford motor company, but has recently withdrawn from the active management of that concern. The Detroit campaign of 1915 was full of local excitement and general significance.

(1) It presented to the voters for the first time in any large American city a definite and concrete plan for the immediate municipalization of the entire local street railway system.

(2) It offered an opportunity to institute municipal ownership on a large scale under a commission of the highest type of business ability appointed for indefinite terms and given practically complete responsibility for the administrative success of the project.

(3) It offered a plan by which a great street railway system could be acquired without immediate cash payment, with only a moderate encumbering of the city's credit and with the promise that the entire cost of the system and its future extensions could be paid out of net earnings at rates of fare much lower than the standard rate charged in most American cities.

(4) It put to the test the constructive genius of a city electorate which has long been struggling for freedom to initiate its own policies and decide its own destinies.

The result was defeat and more confusion. The street railway commission, when it took up the problem of municipal ownership two years ago, had its choice among three methods of procedure: (a) It could institute condemnation proceedings against the Detroit united railway, which, if approved by a unanimous jury, could enable the city to acquire the entire local street railway system by paying for it in spot cash; (b) It could proceed to drive the D. U. R. out of the city, street by street and block by block, where and as its franchises expired, and gradually build up an independent city system, with the certainty of litigation, double fares, incomplete service and disjointed operation at least until December, 1924, when the franchises of the three-cent lines fall in; (c) It could attempt to purchase the D. U. R. lines within the one-fare zone by agreement. The commission chose the third course and employed Professor Bemis to make a valuation. As was natural under the complex conditions, it proved to be impossible for the commission to agree with the company on the fair value of the property. It may be stated generally that street railway officials *never could, even if they wished,* agree

[1] NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 483, 484.

directly to sell the property of their stockholders and bondholders at a price which a city could afford to pay. The result in Detroit was an agreement to leave the fair value, all things considered, to the determination of the six judges of the Wayne circuit court after the city had taken possession of the property and commenced to operate it. The city probably could not have hoped for a more favorable tribunal for the arbitration of the price. But most of the active leaders of the old municipal ownership committee campaigned against the Couzens contract on the ground that it was a "blank check" or "pig-in-the-poke" scheme.

Two questions were submitted—first, the contract itself, which would require a three-fifths affirmative vote for its approval; and second, a modification of the municipal ownership charter provisions to adapt them for the execution of this particular plan, such modification requiring a majority vote only. The contract was defeated by an adverse majority of 3,162 and the charter amendment was carried by a favorable majority of 121. The result appears to be the defeat of the purchase plan and the cutting away of the means by which the street railway commission could proceed with any other plan.

The results of the referenda taken in Detroit in recent years on big street railway issues are interesting as shown by the following table of votes cast for and against the several propositions:

Proposition	*Year*	*Votes for*	*Votes against*
Codd-Hutchins settlement franchise	1906	14,411	30,978
Thompson-Hutchins settlement franchise	1911	22,246	30,651
Municipal ownership charter amendment	1913	40,531	9,542
Modification of municipal ownership charter amendment	1915	32,739	32,618
Street Railway commission's purchase contract	1915	32,514	35,676

About the only safe conclusion to be drawn from these election returns is that the people of Detroit do not like the D. U. R.

In Toledo a 25-year franchise which professed to keep the door open for municipal ownership and to provide for the fixing of fares upon the basis of cost of service, with seven-tickets-for-a-quarter as a maximum rate, was defeated by a vote of 15,565 for, 21,781 against the proposed franchise. The wise editor of the *Electric Railway Journal* made a wry face and remarked that apparently Detroit would have accepted this Toledo franchise. He does not know Detroit, and his conclusion ignores the fact that the Detroit purchase plan was bitterly opposed by most of the original, no-compromise municipal ownership men. Detroit appears to be in favor of municipal ownership, but opposed to anything that the D. U. R. wants or will agree to take.

The Des Moines franchise, which was submitted to the electors on November 29, is in itself more important than the Detroit and Toledo measures, for it was approved by a vote of 7,787 to 1,883, and is now, for weal or woe, the charter of privileges of the Des Moines city railway company, with a prospective life of 25 years. Space will not permit an analysis of this franchise, but it should be noted that Des Moines approved this measure out of sheer weariness of conflict. The streets were clean of franchise rights, by decision of the Iowa Supreme Court; but the Iowa legislature had not granted to cities the right to own and operate street railways nor prescribed the procedure by which municipal ownership could be brought about. The company was theoretically helpless, but the necessity that the service be continued and the city's legal inability to serve itself were trump cards in the company's hands. The franchise is elaborate without being altogether sound. On the essential matter, capital value, the company seems to have won a substantial victory.

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New Orleans Electric Lighting Victory.—Nothing has happened in New Orleans for some years of more general and lasting importance than the settlement in November of the two-years' controversy between the commission and the New Orleans

railway and light company, resulting in a complete victory for the city, which has secured everything for which it was contending, and more than it expected in the beginning of the negotiations. Electric light and power rates, of which this company had held a monopoly for a number of years, and which were abnormally high, have been radically cut, and the contract for the city lighting for the next ten years will be upon a basis more favorable to the city than any previous contract of this sort.

The city will no longer, as in the past, pay the larger proportion of the cost of installing street lights which become the property of the company upon the expiration of the contract, leaving the municipality helpless to bring in effective competition when it is ready to form its new contract. Under the new contract, the company pays all installation expense, but when the contract expires the city will have the option of redeeming that of the last five years at cost less depreciation. A new lighting system will be installed in the business and main residence streets, at a total estimated cost of $160,000, municipal lighting and power bills will be cut 22 per cent, small commercial power bills 20 per cent, and residence and commercial lighting bills over 30 per cent, on an average, by the new rates, which went into effect December 1, 1915, and, on a basis of 1914 consumption, will reduce the revenues for 1916 by $253,882. It is confidently expected, however, that there will be a marked increase in consumption as soon as the reduction in rates is felt, and the public realizes the advantages of the new basis of rating, which is far simpler than the "maximum demand" and "connected load" basis heretofore in use.

Credit for the successful settlement of both the city's contract and the rates for the general public is due to Commissioner of Public Property E. E. Lafaye, to whom the matter was turned over by the commission in November, 1913, when the company, a subsidiary of the American cities company, controlled by the United gas and electric engineering corporation, and financed by Bertron, Griscom, and Company of New York, applied for a renewal of the ten-year contract. Commissioner Lafaye took the stand that no contract would be signed which placed the city at a disadvantage, nor considered unless the rates to the general public were first adjusted to meet the complaints that they were higher than similar rates in other places served by the same and other companies. He refused to discuss rates upon any other basis than cost of service, and as the representatives of the American cities company continually endeavored to base their pleas for a continuance of rates, which they admitted to be too high, upon the alleged necessity of paying interest upon their capitalization, the negotiations were twice broken off, and the city made a serious investigation of the feasibility of constructing a municipal plant to supply its own needs and serve the public in competition with the existing corporation. For this purpose it secured the services of Frederick W. Ballard of Cleveland, Ohio; but the surrender of the company in August, and its offer to simplify and reduce its rates to meet the requirements of the city, and to throw open its books to the inspection of the Commissioner of Public Property and his committee of experts and two local engineers from the municipal staff, made the construction of a city electric plant needless. At the end of the investigation, which took in every phase of the company's electric light and power department, the committee reported than in view of local conditions of area, climate, and industrial conditions, a municipal plant in competition with the existing company could not offer more advantageous rates than the block system of 7, 6, 5, and 4 cents per kilowatt hour, with a service charge of 25 cents, proposed by the company.

To the diplomacy, tact, and patience of Commissioner Lafaye is due the successful settlement of this matter upon a basis which fixes the policy of the city toward the public service corporation upon a new plane. It is significant that the officials of the lighting company have publicly acknowledged his fairness and declared themselves ready to accept him as an arbiter in any case of dispute with the

public. Until their surrender last summer, every possible political and financial wire was pulled to gain their end, and there were crises in the negotiations when only the personal determination of one man stood between the corporation and its purpose.

ETHEL HUTSON.

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Chicago Commission on the Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities.—The Illinois legislature in 1913 passed an act providing for a state public utilities commission. This act placed the control and regulation of municipal public utilities in the hands of the state commission and practically divested and took from the Chicago council all essential and necessary powers for local control and regulation of municipal public service enterprises. Considerable effort has been made during the present year to have the legislature restore to Chicago the power of local home rule and control of its public utilities, but without avail.

It is felt that the action of the legislature withholds from Chicago control over public services of vital importance to the community, and deprives the city council of powers which it should properly possess as a responsible representative body.

At the municipal election held April 7, 1914, a public policy proposition was submitted to the voters that the legislature be requested to amend the act so as to provide for home rule and control by the city of public utilities within its limits. 182,335 votes were cast in its favor while 172,335 votes were cast against it.

The Chicago council on July 6, 1915, passed a resolution authorizing the mayor to appoint a committee of nine aldermen to investigate and report not later than January 1, 1916, upon the feasibility and desirability of public ownership of municipal public utilities; to consider the various systems of public ownership, operation, partnership or other like plans employed in various cities; to consider in a comprehensive way the problems and results of such ownership, including legal and financial questions; the cost and quality of service rendered; improvement and extensions of service; wages and working conditions of employes; liability to interruption of service by strikes or lockouts; and effect upon the public interest in and attachment to the government. The resolution adopted is an indication of the feeling prevalent in the community to the effect that if the city is denied the right to regulate and control its public utilities through its council, it proceed to take steps leading to the public ownership and operation of such public service enterprises.

Mayor William Hale Thompson on July 12, 1915, appointed the following nine aldermen to make an investigation into the public ownership of municipal public utilities in pursuance of the terms of the resolution: Otto Kerner, Chas. E. Merriam, Robt. M. Buck, A. A. McCormick, George Pretzel, Harry E. Littler, John C. Kennedy, Wm. E. Rodriguez, Thomas A. Doyle. The commission shortly thereafter held a meeting and elected Alderman Kerner chairman, and Alderman Merriam secretary.

FREDERICK REX.

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Chicago's New Crime Commission[1] was appointed on October 5, 1915, by Chief Justice Harry Olson of the municipal court and Judge George Kersten, until recently chief justice of the criminal court. It is composed of the city's leading authorities on law, crime and social welfare, and it proposes to make a searching investigation of criminal practice and procedure. There are five women members of the commission, five aldermen and a number of lawyers and civic and social workers.

The commission will especially consider an improved system of criminal statistics; methods and practices in police and criminal courts; methods in vogue in the offices of the city prosecutor and the state's attorney; necessary changes in criminal law and procedure and drafts of such proposed changes; operation of the parole and probation systems; creation of a con-

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. IV, pp. 111 and 529.

solidated court system for Chicago; and improved methods of electing judges.

The scope of the work entrusted to the commission is large enough to embrace practically everything pertaining to the administration of criminal justice in Chicago, including even the matter of electing judges, although efficiency in administering criminal law in the courts of Chicago necessarily involves reconstruction and consolidation of numerous local departmental agencies which in turn will depend upon constitutional changes.

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Public Markets.—*Co-operative Fruit Markets.* That effective co-operative organizations offer the best means for profitable marketing of apples is brought out in Bulletin No. 302, "Apple marketing investigations, 1914 to 1915," issued by the United States Department of Agriculture. It is shown that where apples are boxed instead of barrelled, growers' associations handle a large percentage of the output and are much more successful than individual producers in securing uniformity of packing and advantageous distribution. It is shown in the Chicago market that 25 per cent of the apples received in carload bulk, the equivalent of 350 carloads, and 10 per cent of the barrelled shipments, the equivalent of about 160 carloads, were of such poor quality that the proceeds would not have paid the freight charges had the apples been shipped by express. If this poor fruit had been thrown out the farmers not only would have saved the cost of packing and shipping but also would have cleared the market for their good stock. Conditions similar to these are found elsewhere. The crate and package laws now operating in a number of states are proving very effective in stabilizing the market.

During the last year the city of *Baltimore* maintained eleven public markets under the supervision of the comptrollers' department. The total expenses of these markets were $91,484.62, and the total receipts from licenses, rents and per diems, $75,390.72. This shows a net loss. It must be remembered, however, that the expense items include several not charged against markets in most cities, such as cleaning streets and carting refuse. If these items alone were deducted the loss would be changed into profit.

Portland, Oregon, has three markets, one of which is permanent, novel in construction, and a financial success. It occupies the sidewalk and railway space along both sides of 100 feet of street in the heart of the retail business district. The stalls are of wood. When not in use they fold up. Cutting meat is prohibited in the market although its sale is permitted provided glass cases are installed. A meat-cutting room has been fitted out in the basement room of the building adjoining the market. The market is rented exclusively by producers who must show, upon demanding a lease or a deed, a satisfactory proof that they are producers. The market contains 189 stalls. The total receipts from July 1, 1914, when the market was established, to September 15, 1915, were $4,898.45. Since the market was first established it has more than paid its way. The city will have soon paid for the entire cost of the permanent shops and will have an income of several hundred dollars per month from the market.

Philadelphia. The recent report of the bureau of city property in Philadelphia recommends that the two old public markets of the city, which have stood the test of 169 and 129 years respectively, be continued. "To allow the markets to go," says the report, "would be doing a great wrong to the poorer classes of people who are dependent upon them." The markets netted the city an income of $17,207.50 in the year 1914, an increase under the Blankenburg administration of $4,698 per annum. But inasmuch as the present buildings are poorly drained and exposed to the dusts of the streets the report concludes that the city "must enclose and underdrain them, or better still, erect modern, sanitary constructions."

According to the 1915 annual message of the mayor of *Jamestown, N. Y.*, the public market of that city represents an investment of $11,905, on which there has been paid from rental receipts during the past year $4,070. In less than three

years the entire expenditure will be liquidated, and the taxpayer will not be called on to contribute toward the expenses involved in the market. The weekly market attendance totals 10,000 people. During the past year there has been a reduction of 25 per cent in the cost of market produce.

Wilmington, Del., is demonstrating what can be achieved by a well-regulated curbstone market. On Wednesdays and Saturday mornings for eight blocks the farmers' wagons are backed to the curb, and produce of every description is displayed for sale. The market is limited to farmers and truckers whose principal business is the raising of farm produce. Special measures are taken to insure the sanitary condition of the market.

The municipal markets of *Columbus, Ohio*, earned for that city during the past year a dividend of over 7 per cent on the investment, which is fixed at $249,233.26. The receipts from the market, over operating and all other expenses, were $18,569.95. There was an increase in receipts for 1914 over the previous year of $4,023.84, and, at the same time, a decrease in expenses of $2,800.

Municipal Cold Storage Plant. The new municipal cold storage plant recently erected in *Cleveland, Ohio*, is proving to be a potent factor in reducing the cost of living. Lockers in the cold storage plant may be rented for a nominal sum, by private families as well as by retail merchants. By using these lockers, it is possible to buy such supplies as butter, eggs, apples, cheese, etc., when prices are lowest and store them for future use. For example, a crate of eggs, containing 30 dozen, may be stored from April to January for 40 cents. Under normal conditions, eggs are not only better but cheaper in April than in other seasons of the year. By storing eggs at this time, the cost is increased but 1½ cents a dozen whenever used within the succeeding months—a decided saving on what eggs would cost if purchased as needed. Great savings can also be effected in the purchasing of butter, cheese, etc., if stored in quantities.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

Chicago Municipal Flag Commission.—Approximately 35 cities in the United States at the present time possess municipal flags. Nearly all European cities have chosen colors, as the universities and colleges have done, and these are called the municipal colors. Chicago has been far behind other cities in the adoption of a municipal flag. A careful examination of the proceedings of the Chicago council and of other municipal records fails to disclose any official action by which the city has ever proposed or adopted a municipal flag or emblem.

Alderman James A. Kearns, a member of the council, on July 12, 1915, presented an order providing for the appointment of a commission to make a thorough investigation and select a suitable design for a municipal flag to give the city a fitting and proper emblem of its history, progress, enterprise and achievement; to symbolize the civic spirit of Chicago; visualize local patriotism; stimulate industrial progress; and instill in the hearts of school children and of citizens a concrete evidence and example of the reality of the city as a corporate community.

Mayor Thompson on November 1, 1915, appointed a Commission consisting of aldermen and representatives of the University of Chicago settlement, the woman's city club; the association of commerce; the daughters of the American revolution; the city club; the historical society; the municipal art commission; and the federation of labor.

Alderman Kearns was chosen chairman and Frederick Rex, municipal reference librarian, its secretary.[1]

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Chicago Commission on the Liquor Problem.—On July 12, 1915, the Chicago

[1] A very interesting book on "The Seal and Flag of the City of New York, 1665–1915," has been published under the authority of the New York mayors' society committee, commemorating the 250th anniversary of the establishment on June 24, 1665, of municipal government under the mayor and board of aldermen of the city of New York, as successors in office of the burgomaster and schepens of the city of New Amsterdam. The book is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, price $1.—EDITOR.

council passed an order authorizing the mayor to appoint a commission of six aldermen and three citizens to consider in a comprehensive way the medical, moral, political, social and economic aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors in Chicago; to consider the chief methods of licensing, regulating and prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors and to recommend the best practical policy to be pursued by the municipality in licensing, regulating or prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors.

Alderman John Toman was elected chairman and Frederick Rex, municipal reference librarian, secretary.

A sub-committee was appointed to prepare a plan of organization and procedure and to decide upon a program to enable the commission to arrive at the necessary facts in the most expeditious and effective manner.

Sub-committees on the financial and economic aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors, on the political and social aspects of the use of intoxicating liquors, and on the medical and moral aspects have been appointed.

All meetings of the commission will be open to the public. In order to facilitate the investigation, however, the work will be divided and each session will be confined to the particular subdivision under inquiry and consideration, so that on the days when the financial and economic aspects of the liquor problem are being considered, nothing relating to the other aspects will be touched upon.

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Public Safety Notes.—*Policemen's Memorandum Books.* The unofficial memorandum books which are carried by all policemen, and in which the policemen are expected to enter full particulars of all police action taken by them, are frequently used as evidence in court and are often found unsatisfactory. Even efficient policemen do not always make satisfactory entries in their memorandum books. To assist the policemen in the performance of this important duty, Police Commissioner Woods of New York has introduced experimentally in some of the New York precincts a loose-leaf memorandum book containing sheets of distinctive color for reports of arrests, observations, lamp outages and conditions requiring the attention of other municipal departments. Each sheet contains blanks for all essential data for each case and it is hoped that in this way full, accurate and complete memoranda will be secured.

Efficiency Records for Policemen. Commissioner Woods of New York has introduced experimentally in several precincts an elaborate amplification of the efficiency record system for policemen devised by Chief Corriston of Minneapolis several years ago. The New York system provides for a tabulated number of merit marks for each act of police work successfully performed, which vary with the nature of the post to which the policeman is assigned in order that the man assigned to a busy post may not have an unfair advantage. A similar system of demerit marks has also been tabulated. Provision will be made for considering these efficiency records in promotion examinations, and for giving additional time off each month to the most efficient policeman in each precinct and an additional week of annual vacation to the most efficient policemen on the force. It is yet to be determined whether this sytem is susceptible of equitable administration in a large city.

Joint Trial Board for Highway Employes. Marcus M. Marks, President of the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, has introduced a disciplinary system for the employes of the bureau of highways under his jurisdiction, by which an employe against whom charges are preferred is given a hearing before a joint trial board, consisting of two department officials and two fellow-employes of the man on trial. The trial by a joint trial board is more democratic and more deliberate than a hearing before a single commissioner, it brings more points of view to bear, removes any possibility of prejudice and in this way obviates the useless expense of a court review. Forty-seven trials have been held and in each case the recommendation of punishment was made by a unanimous vote of the four members of

the joint trial board. The effect upon the discipline of the department has been excellent. The judgments of the board have not been too lenient and the members of the board have gone back in each case to the rank and file with the story of a square deal, punishment for the guilty and proper consideration for the trivial offender.

LEONHARD FELIX FULD.

Excess Condemnation and the New York Constitution.—The defeat of the new constitution drafted by the New York Constitutional Convention of 1915 had no effect on the excess condemnation situation in that state. The convention itself, exceedingly conservative in its attitude toward property rights, and having a large proportion of rural members without any real comprehension of the desirability or need of municipal control of real estate for its own protection and development, had already declined to accept any of the changes in the organic law offered by various civic bodies in New York City. The following is the text of the amendment introduced by Hon. Herbert Parsons at the instance of the fine arts federation of New York:

"Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. The legislature may authorize the taking of more land and property than needed in the creation, laying out, widening, extension or re-location of parks, streets, highways and public places, or for the protection or development thereof, including rights in, easements over, and limitations upon the use of neighboring property; but unless the excess land or property shall be needed for a public purpose incidental to such primary purpose, the excess shall be no more than sufficient to form suitable building sites abutting on such park, street, highway or public place. So much of the excess as shall not be needed for the primary purpose may be sold or leased. Different localities and classes of property may be subjected to different regulations for the protection or development thereof, or for any other public purpose, including the destruction of buildings in areas that are insanitary or vicious and the prohibition or restriction of uses or structures inappropriate or offensive to the neighborhood or detrimental to the appearance of public streets or places."

The above was drafted as an amendment, in effect, to the general regulative or police power of the state, so that the power conferred might be exercised either by the state legislature or by localities to the extent that legislative power over local affairs should be delegated. Other similar amendments introduced as grants of power to cities received little more consideration. Constitutional amendments drafted on the latter theory are obviously open to the objection that they may have the effect of granting broader powers to municipal legislatures than are possessed by the state legislature itself, a somewhat anomalous situation. They, however, take advantage of the strong current in favor of home rule for cities, and do cover the cases most in need of such regulative power—the congested urban communities.

The present New York constitution contains an excess condemnation clause in somewhat different form from that in the federation proposal quoted above. Some attempt was made to drop the existing provision, but it was included unchanged in the proposed constitution. Accordingly it made no difference in this respect whether the new constitution was adopted or rejected by the people at the general election of November 2.

Pueblo and Tax Receipt.—A single tax amendment was adopted in Pueblo, Col., two years ago, but, as it provided for a graduated operation, it was never in full force and effect. "Thus," in the words of a correspondent, "we cannot say that the plan was fully tried out."

The first year the reduction of taxes on real estate improvements was to be 50 per cent., and the second year, 99 per cent. of their full value. Last year was the first that the effect of single tax was felt, and a great many people were of the opinion that it was detrimental in that a large

number of vacant lots were offered for sale for delinquent taxes, and there were no purchasers, and thus the lots had to be bid in by the county. This practically retired them from future taxation. This year the amendment was repealed a week or so before the tax sale, and the vacant lots that were offered at tax sale were more readily sold than last year.

It was argued that if single tax remained it would be only a question of time until all the vacant property in the city would be held by the county for delinquent taxes, which would result in putting a greater burden of taxation upon other taxable property. It was also argued that personal property, such as goods, wares and merchandise, exposed by merchants for sale, required and obtained more protection from the city government in the way of police and fire protection than any other property, and that it was manifestly unfair to have such property exempt from taxation when, as some stated, 60 to 75 per cent of all the city revenues were devoted to the protection thereof. It was also argued that the plan had not attracted to the city, as was claimed for it on the outset, manufacturies, or any other industries, whose personal property might be exempt from taxation under the plan.

The advocates of the single tax contended that it was unfair to ask for its repeal at this time, for the reason that it had not been in force a sufficient length of time for a full demonstration of its merits, and that its merits would come forward, if it were allowed to remain in force. One correspondent writes: "Personally I took no part in the matter at all. I was inclined to the view that it would have been well to allow the amendment to remain for at least two years longer to the end that it might be demonstrated that it was a thing of value or that it was not.

"A considerable number of our wealthiest citizens who seemed to be benefited to the largest extent on account of single tax, because of being large owners of personal property, advocated its repeal and contributed money for the same. A great many of them told me they believed that ultimately the plan would be very injurious to our city, and that they felt it was inequitable for any portion of the property within the city limits to escape its just burden of taxation.

"My opinion is that there can be no conclusions drawn for or against single tax insofar as it was tried in our city, save and except that it did not seem to attract outside capital as its friends claimed it would. However, the answer to that may be that it was not in force long enough to attract attention."

II. POLITICS[1]

The "Near Recall" of the Mayor of Boston.—The new charter of Boston makes it possible to recall the mayor of the city at the mid-term election if one half of the total registered electors so vote. There were 113,979 registered voters in Boston for the November 2d election, of which one half would be 56,989. There was a clear majority in favor of the recall of Mayor Curley, the vote being 47,396 for, against 37,784 against, but as the affirmative vote was less than half the total registered vote, the measure failed. It will be interesting to note whether Mayor Curley will change his policies in the light of this declaration of public opinion.

In commenting on the situation, Professor Munro writes as follows:

"The movement to recall Mayor Curley had no particular significance. In fact there was no earnest movement in that direction. The Republican City Committee, despite the fact that partisanship is presumed to be abolished in city elections, advised Republicans to vote for the recall. A great many of them did so. Many discontented Democrats and likewise a great

[1] Unless otherwise indicated the items in this department are prepared by Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

many of those who think there should be a mayoralty election every two years anyhow voted to recall the Mayor. In this way a considerable majority was put together although not enough to secure the recall. . . . The size of the vote in favor of recalling the Mayor was a considerable surprise to every one, including His Honor!"

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The New York City Political Situation is summed up in a New York *Times* editorial which declared on the day after the November 2 election:

"Tammany will now continue hopefully and with vigor preparations so auspiciously begun for electing the next mayor of the city. Much water will run under all the bridges before the election of 1917, but after the triumph of yesterday in Manhattan it cannot be denied that Tammany is in a position where it can look forward to victory two years hence with more confidence than it has felt in any one of the mayoralty elections of the last fifteen years, save only that in which Mayor Gaynor was chosen. It is an old, old story, perfectly familiar to those who from years of observation have come to understand the habits and the capacities of Tammany, so often forgotten by the cohorts of reform, that Tammany thrives by defeat and when in opposition can organize for victory better than when in power. In possession of the offices its evil practices disgust the voter, when it is out of office it is its habit to lull the anti-Tammany forces into complacent slumber until it can regain the majority position.

"That is what has happened this year. Tammany put forward for the district attorneyship Judge Swann, a candidate far more presentable than the average Tammany choice, and for sheriff ex-assemblyman Smith, a candidate so worthy and acceptable that he won the approval of the Citizens' union. Then the talk began that there must be a united Democracy in this city because of the coming presidential year. As *The Times* remarked the other day, most of the sentinels of anti-Tammany seemed to be asleep at their posts. . . . The federal office holders drifted along with the current or actually helped to guide it, and as a result Judge Swann is elected by a plurality of some 38,000 votes and Mr. Smith, sheriff, by 46,000 or more; and Tammany will control the board of aldermen, earning the choice of a Tammany man as president of that body, with a seat in the board of estimate and apportionment.[1]

"The recapture of the district attorneyship by Tammany is a serious matter. It is one of the chief citadels of opposition to Tammany. The organization will be visibly strengthened by that triumph and the fusion city government loses the sympathetic and practical co-operation of the public prosecutor of the county. Tammany will not find much encouragement in the behavior of Brooklyn in yesterday's election, but the anti-Tammany forces in Kings County may be put to sleep in the coming two years just as they have been in New York County this year. Tammany has made a good start in the mayoralty race, and its success is due to the short memories of the reformers and independent Democrats, who in a real anti-Tammany campaign are the most vociferous foes of the old organization."

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New York Local Campaigns.—In *Schenectady* the former Socialist mayor, George R. Lunn, was re-elected, along with Dr. C. P. Steinmetz, of the General electric company, another leading Socialist, as president of the board of aldermen.

In *Buffalo*, out of 29 offices for which the local municipal league expressed a choice, the voters selected the better men in 21 cases, not counting one who was "well spoken of." In the other offices, out of the 44 filled, the league expressed no choice. Sometimes both candidates were well spoken of and sometimes both were disapproved. Three had no opponents. A religious fight left over from last year between the Roman-Catholics and anti-Roman Catholics probably was a material factor in a number of cases. Last year the anti-Catholics swung about

[1] This is due to the resignation of President George McAneny, effective Jan. 1, 1916. H. L. M.

12,000 votes in the city (15,000 in the county) about as they chose, sometimes to the poorer candidates. How strong the movement was this year has not yet been figured out. The Roman Catholic education league supported four candidates for the new council, the first to be elected under the commission form of government, only one of whom was a Catholic, who probably would not have been elected without its support. Former commissioner of public works Ward, endorsed by this league, was defeated in spite of this and of the complete organization he had built up during the past decade. Of the new commissioners, two are Democrats and two Republicans, the present mayor being continued. The secretary of the municipal league of Buffalo in commenting on the situation, said: "I think we are more fortunate in the selection of our new council than we had reason to expect our defective primary system (though one of the best of its kind) would yield." Among the candidates endorsed by the Municipal league who were defeated at the polls was Knowlton Mixer, a member of the council of the National Municipal League. He made a strong showing, however, and it is believed that he has materially strengthened his political position by reason of his effective campaign.

In *Niagara Falls* the first commission under the new commission manager plan approved a year ago was elected.

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Philadelphia's Mayoralty Election.—There has been a good deal of comment, wise and otherwise, about the municipal election in Philadelphia. Nearly everyone commenting on the situation seems to have a different reason for the results. Two years ago in commenting upon the Philadelphia election we quoted an extensive editorial from the *North American* because that paper has for several years been persistently opposed to the Republican organization and was one of the foremost supporters of Mayor Blankenburg's election in 1911, and it would seem that we could not do better than give the views of this paper at this time, especially as they coincide with a very considerable number of the thoughtful observers in and well-wishers for the city:

"The people of Philadelphia voted to turn back the management of their municipal affairs to the city contractors. . . . Never were the issues of a campaign more clear cut. McNichol and Vare, the principal contractors, openly designated their personal choice for the office, and frankly announced that he was their selection and pledged to their interests.

"His opponent, George D. Porter, appointed director of public safety four years ago by Mayor Blankenburg, was put forth by the mayor and his political strategists upon two issues equally plain: he was to represent not only the opposition to the contractors, but the record of the administration. His candidacy was an appeal for a vote of confidence. The Smith plurality of approximately 78,000 must be accepted, therefore, as the verdict of the public upon that issue. But the result was even more conclusive than the figures indicate.

"Four years ago, on the anti-contractor issue, Mayor Blankenburg was elected by about 4,500 plurality. The forces behind him had no power of office to wield, while the contractors controlled every department of the Reyburn administration. Moreover, they had been compelled to put forward a decent and able citizen, George H. Earle, Jr., the highest type of nominee the organization had selected in twenty years.

"This time the opponents of contractor rule had the administration with them. . . . They had adequate funds, and an army of sincere, volunteer workers conducted a vigorous campaign. Yet despite all these advantages they were overwhelmingly defeated. The people declared for a return to government by the contractors.

"Those who were misled, because of enthusiasm or inexperience, into believing that Porter could win will seek an explanation, perhaps, in mistakes or inefficiency in the campaign. There were, as always, errors of judgment and blunders in tactics. But the fatal handicap upon the cause was that the candidate put forth to represent it was the personification of its weaknesses, a man whose incapacity has been

revealed in his management of a department which should have been the right arm of the administration, but which instead was a source of enfeeblement. But this is not the whole case. The best candidate available could not have won when the issue was an indorsement of the Blankenburg administration. The fight was lost, not during the campaign, but during the first year of the present régime.

"The mayor's failure to devise a rational policy to meet the financial needs of the city; his utter inability to command either respect or co-operation from organization councilmen, or even to hold those elected with him on the reform ticket; his absurd recommendations for unscientific and unjust tax innovations, and his broken pledge on 80-cent gas—all these features of his first twelve months in office brought about such a revulsion of sentiment that from that time forward any candidacy embodying an administration indorsement was foredoomed to defeat.

"In the second Blankenburg year there was a clear-cut fight for control of councils. There were no confusing side issues, and everybody was aware that the mayor still had two years of authority, during which he could make or mar the influence of members. Yet at the election he lost 50 per cent of the strength he had had in the chambers, and now even the remnant has been virtually wiped out of existence.

"It is undeniable that during the interval much admirable constructive work has been accomplished, which goes to the lasting credit of the Blankenburg administration—by the transit department in its transportation projects; by the department of public works in its grade crossing work and other developments and the elimination of contract jugglery; by the department of wharves, docks and ferries in great waterfront improvements.

"These achievements might be considered of sufficient magnitude to save even a vicious administration from condemnation. But it is clear that in the public estimation they were not enough to counterbalance the utter failure of the administration to do what it was elected to do—namely, destroy contractor rule.

"The fact which seemed to overshadow all others was that from the time when Mayor Blankenburg revealed the extent of his capacities until now the contractors have steadily grown stronger, and have done so because of his deficiencies and weaknesses. Disappointment and resentment over his failure to carry out the commission given to him inspired the final repudiation.

"No one has ever questioned his motives or his desire to do right. But public opinion demands something more than passive virtue in an executive who possesses ample power to deal with flagrant wrong, and it would even seem as if inaction under such circumstances has a more inflammatory effect than downright viciousness.

"While the anti-contractor and pro-Blankenburg issues were most emphasized in the Porter campaign, a third was injected. The religious issue had no determining influence on the result, but it cannot be ignored in a frank analysis.

"A Protestant organization formed to promote aims which may be conceded to be legitimate was used by designing men to serve the political purposes of the administration candidate. Porter and his backers imported a man of shady reputation to manage the movement, and under his guidance a secret political organization was formed to utilize the membership and influence of the larger body. . . .

"But there is one fact which stands out against the depressing background. Last Tuesday there lined up at the polls nearly 88,000 voters who, despite a feeble candidacy and an uninspiring administration record, stood true to the cause of decency and good government. These are the 'last-ditch' defenders of the city, and they still represent a formidable force. For they exceed in numbers those which can be commanded by either McNichol or Vare; they constitute the balance of power in public affairs. . . .

"One hopeful factor is the deadly enmity which exists between the two groups, which eventually must lead to a division. One or the other, to save itself, will seek the assistance of the decent citizens of the community, and it may be that finally the

city will come into its own through an alliance between the forces of good government and one of the contending factions which sees in honesty a measure of self-defense against the other.

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The Re-election of Philadelphia's Controller.—Captain John M. Walton was elected for the fifth term as controller of Philadelphia on November 2. Not only has Controller Walton been acceptable as an administrative officer, but he has also been one of the pioneer controllers to take up and work out a comprehensive budget. His budget statement for 1916 is well worth the study of everyone interested in budgetary reform. Under his leadership a complete inventory of all the property of the city of Philadelphia has been made.

There was an interesting contest over the orphans' court judgeship. There were two candidates, one the sitting judge, Morris Dallett, the other George McCurdy, president of common council. Judge Dallett having incurred the enmity of an influential ward leader, there was a definite effort to defeat him mainly on that ground. He was elected, however, through independent votes and the support of the Penrose-McNichol faction of the Republican party. McCurdy who had always been a political follower of McNichol receiving the support of the Vare faction.

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Ohio's Municipal Elections.—*Cleveland.* The preferential ballot led to the election of H. L. Davis, the Republican candidate, over Peter Witt, Democrat, for mayor, although the latter had a plurality of first choices. The total unofficial figures give Davis 36,844 first-choice votes; 8,549 second-choice and 2,378 other choices, a total of 47,771. Witt's figures were 39,869 first-choice votes; 3,569 second-choice and 1,510 other choices, the total being 44,940 on all choices. This computation shows Witt led Davis by 3,017 on first choice votes; Davis led Witt by 4,980 on second-choice alone. Davis failed by 3,863 of getting a majority of the total first-choice votes, which was 103,269.

The recommendations of the civic league were more closely followed than in former years. Twenty of the twenty-six councilmen were the League's first or second choices, sixteen being first choice. The first three names recommended for the school board were elected. Fifteen of twenty-six candidates for assessor were chosen and five of the eight members of the municipal court. Two charter amendments were adopted, one initiated by the labor organization establishing a minimum wage of $2.50 on contract work for the city. The other gave newly annexed territory more adequate representation in the city council. Under the charter before it was amended, if East Cleveland should have joined the city it would have been annexed to one of the adjacent wards. The amendment is designed to make annexation more attractive in that it gives annexed territory in which at the preceding election 2,000 votes were cast one representative in the city council until the next federal census.

Bond issues aggregating approximately $2,000,000 for municipal improvements were approved by the voters of *Dayton* on November 2 by more than the necessary two-thirds majority required by the Ohio statutes. This overwhelming vote in favor of this outlay was a striking indication of how thoroughly the civic spirit has been aroused and how strongly the present administration, including City Manager Waite, has become entrenched in the good esteem of the people. Only one of the two candidates for council endorsed by the citizens' committee was successful, and he only by two votes. It is understood, however, that the successful candidate who did not receive the committee's endorsement is friendly to the commission manager form of government. It is generally believed that the defeat of one of the citizens' candidates is due to the fact that practically the whole campaign was directed to the bond issue.

Springfield. The overwhelming victory of the administration candidates on November 2 in the words of the Springfield, Ohio, *Sun*, "marks the passing of the old political régime in Springfield. The con-

test was a clean-cut battle between the old and the new methods of vote-getting, and the defeat of Miller and Lawrence, than whom there were no better vote-getters under the old system, was decisive enough to show that in Springfield at least a new order has begun. Miller and Lawrence are popular with a large number of Springfield voters. They have proved that they will aid the individual when in need and that they will do all in their power to aid their friends after they have been elevated to office. The success of Miller in a dozen campaigns testifies to the persuasive influence of his smile and handshake, while the vote rolled up for Lawrence during his race for sheriff and at the commission primaries shows that he is scarcely less efficient in vote-getting. Yet in a campaign unmarked by offensive personalities and without abuse of any kind, Miller and Lawrence went down to defeat before men who are not as well known to the rank and file and who would have been defeated overwhelmingly under the former system of politics. The results show clearly that the voters of Springfield are learning to discriminate between pledges carried out and promises made with a view of securing votes. A new class of public officials is demanded, men who will do things without a view to the probable political effect their action will have and who will place the welfare of the majority above that of a few men who are active politically."

In *Zanesville*, Carl H. Stubig, a newspaper man, won the election in spite of the combined opposition of the daily papers and of the "old guard" organizations of the city, and he carried two or his slate with him giving him a majority of the commission.

In *Toledo*, Mayor Keller was overwhelmingly defeated for re-election by Charles M. Milroy, former law partner of Brand Whitlock, now minister to Belgium and formerly mayor of the city. Mr. Milroy's plurality approximated 1,000. His nearest competitor was former Chief of Police G. A. Murphey, who made a spectacular campaign during which he was dubbed "the political Billy Sunday." The franchise issue elsewhere referred to by Dr. Wilcox was one of the main issues of the campaign.

The *Ashtabula* election was principally interesting because of the first application in the United States of the Hare system of proportional representation. This election formed the basis of an animated discussion at the Dayton meeting of the National Municipal League and will be described at length in the April issue in a special paper on the subject by Professor Augustus Raymond Hatton of Cleveland, who was present at the election.

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A Michigan Mayor Recalled.—Thomas G. Sullivan, mayor of Munising, Michigan, was recalled at a special election on October 16, being defeated by Dr. J. B. Truman. The majority for the recall was 102 in the largest vote ever cast in the city. The charges against Mayor Sullivan were that he appointed as chief of police a man who had previously been found to be short about $2,500 while serving as county treasurer and that he had failed to enforce the laws against gambling and the liquor traffic.

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The San Francisco Mayoralty Election.—Mayor Rolph was re-elected mayor of San Francisco at the primary on October 26, he having received a majority of all the votes cast. The San Francisco *Chronicle* is responsible for the following figures which are published with the comment that it looked as if the people of the city were "tired of governing themselves and proposed to let things drift":

Registration (for primary)	179,591
Total vote at primary	119,357
Total vote, October 26 (amending constitution)	48,884
Total vote, final city election	83,138

The *Chronicle* makes the further comment upon the situation:

"Some of the changes in the vote for Supervisors are interesting and may help to explain what will be regarded in some quarters as a reversal of the verdict of the primaries. They deserve attentive study.

Name—	Number voting at primary	Number voting at final	Loss in the final
Hayden	50,956	37,287	13,669
Vogelsang	47,160	33,529	13,631
Payot	41,950	30,928	11,028
Murdock	39,749	30,054	9,695

"Now here were four Supervisors, all of long experience on the Board and known to be competent, honest and public-spirited citizens and officials. No objection was or could be made to any one of them by any who care only for the public welfare. Of the four only Mr. Hayden was re-elected, and he got $13,669 less votes than he received at the primary.

"Upon the whole, it seems to have been the 13,000 stay-at-homes who decided the election."

The view of the California *Outlook*, which represents the Progressive party, is practically to the same effect. In its issue of December, it said, editorially:

"These ebbs and flows of the tide of progress are inevitable. They happen everywhere, but they never permanently reverse the current. The stream flows on even more irresistibly after the temporary check. The reaction had struck the East a year ago, and was due here. Perhaps it is fortunate that it has come now, rather than later, when it might do more harm. Evidently for the moment 'Give us a rest,' 'Let us alone,' and 'the full dinner pail' are once more acceptable slogans in California. We shall wake up in due time, probably soon. But just now we are sleepy and cross. Don't bother us!"

Non-Partisan Amendments in California Defeated.—The defeat of the so-called non-partisan amendments to the California constitution was not at all significant of public opinion on the questions involved, but simply serves as another proof of the value of organization in a contest against an unorganized public, part of which is invariably apathetic. In this case, however, over-confidence may be set down as being responsible to a large extent.

Up to the day of election it was generally condeded that public sentiment was on the side of the state administration and that the non-partisan amendments would undoubtedly be sustained. This feeling was largely due to the fact that considerable difficulty had been experienced in securing sufficient signatures to the petition required in order to have the measures submitted to the voters under the referendum.

The different party organizations united their forces in opposition to the measures, although most people regarded their efforts as a forelorn hope. On the other hand, many friends of the measures, satisfied that they would be sustained, did not take the trouble to go to the polls at all.

Another cause for their defeat may be attributed to the failure sufficiently to educate the public as to the objects sought to be attained. Comparatively few public meetings were held and these were not well attended. The results showed that the means provided for educating the voters on the various amendments submitted to them from time to time is woefully insufficient, and as a result many people make a practice of voting in the negative simply because the propositions are not clearly understood. Among the defeated measures was one designed to authorize the use of the principle of "excess condemnation" in taking private property for public use; a similar measure was defeated at another election held about two years ago. It is certainly a mistake to submit measures of this kind to the electorate without taking the proper steps to acquaint them with the reasons for their adoption.

The amendments in question provided for non-partisanship in state as well as municipal elections; rural credits; the deposit of public moneys; excess condemnation; exempting property from taxation, and county charters. Still others made some changes in the initiative and referendum, but all were defeated. The secretary of state published an analysis of the various amendments and the Commonwealth club in its transactions for October, 1915, published a series of reports dealing with the merits of the various propositions.

Defeat of Woman Suffrage.—In three of the larger Eastern states—Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania—constitutional amendments providing for woman suffrage were defeated on November 2, the adverse majority being largest in Massachusetts and smallest in Pennsylvania, where the cause received very much stronger support than was at first anticipated. There were those who felt that the amendment would be defeated overwhelmingly in Pennsylvania due to the opposition in Philadelphia. The negative vote in the latter city was much smaller than was anticipated and the amendment would have been defeated even without the adverse majority in that city.

A few weeks earlier at a special election a similar amendment in New Jersey was overwhelmingly defeated.

In all of the states affected, the women and organizations responsible for the amendments have taken steps to begin new and more vigorous campaigns.

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Errata.—On page 670 of the October issue, the caption "Oakland, California, Politics" should be corrected to read "Berkeley, California, Politics." The election to which the note refers took place in Berkeley.

III. JUDICIAL DECISIONS[1]

Valuation of Public Utilities.—In the case of *Des Moines Gas Company* v. *City of Des Moines*,[2] the United States supreme court has made serious additions to its body of doctrine on this important question. The master in the lower court refused a separate allowance for "going concern value" on the ground that the physical value had been determined with reference to the fact that the plant was in operation. This position the supreme court affirmed. The implication, therefore, is that "going concern value" is nothing more than the difference between the physical value of the plant as junk and its physical value in use. If this is a sound deduction from the decision in the Des Moines case it means that the supreme court, without expressly saying so, has executed something very like a *volte face* on the "going concern" question. Another important phase of this decision is the refusal of the court to consider the cost of cutting through and replacing present pavements in determining the value of mains laid before the pavements were put down. This apparently settles what has been one of the most disputed points with regard to the application of the replacement theory of valuation.

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The Referendum.—The question as to when the acts of a commission plan city council are of an executive nature and not subject to the referendum arose in the case of *Hopping* v. *Council of City of Richmond* (Cal.).[3] The acts in question were a series of resolutions accepting the gift of a piece of land conditioned on the erection thereon of a city hall. The opponents of the accepted site filed referendum petitions in due form against these resolutions. The council, however, on the ground that the acts were executive in their nature, refused to call the election. On mandamus to the district court of appeal the contention of the city was upheld. The supreme court, however, decided that the resolutions were legislative because they "constituted a declaration of a public purpose and a

[1] It is a matter of sincere regret to the editor that Charles D. Mahaffie who has been preparing the department of Judicial Decisions for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW was compelled by pressure of professional duties to give up the work. It is a matter of equally sincere congratulation that he has been able to persuade Professor Thomas H. Reed of the University of California to take Mr. Mahaffie's place. Professor Reed, in addition to his academic work, is a member of the California bar, and has had very considerable public experience as secretary to Governor Johnson and in various civic work, so he will bring to the department not only the trained experience of a practising lawy e but also the broad sympathies of a professor and civic worker. C. R. W.

[2] 35 Sup. Ct. Rep. 811.

[3] 150 Pac. 977.

provision for ways and means of its accomplishment."

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Reasonableness of a Smoke Ordinance.—An interesting decision on the validity of an ordinance directed at the smoke nuisance is that of the supreme court of Michigan in *People* v. *Detroit B. I. & W. Ferry Co.*[1] The ordinance declared the emission of dense smoke from any chimney or smoke stack, including those of steam vessels, to be a nuisance *per se*. The court held that, in the absence of a practical and efficient appliance for smoke prevention applicable to marine engines, the ordinance must remain in abeyance until the progress of invention made its provisions reasonable.

✻

Liability of a City for Property Destroyed by Mobs.—In the case of *Wells Fargo* v. *Mayor etc. of Jersey City*,[2] the circuit court of appeals for the Third Circuit held that the word "property," as used in the New Jersey statute establishing the liability of cities for damage to property inflicted by mobs, did not include the right to do business. The court classed this right as intangible property and said that the statute only covered tangible property. In this decision the court exhibited a contrary tendency to that usually displayed by the courts in enforcing property rights, especially in labor disputes.

✻

Nature of City's Right in the Streets.—Among many other issues decided by the appellate division of the supreme court of New York in the case of *McCutcheon* v. *Terminal Station Commission of the City of Buffalo*[3] is a discussion of general interest with regard to the nature of the city's right in its streets. It was contended by the plaintiff that the closing of certain streets and surrendering them to the railroad for terminal purposes was a violation of the New York constitution,[4] which, like many other state constitutions, forbids a city to give money or property to, or in aid of, a private individual or corporation. The court held that where the city owns the fee of the street it holds it in trust for the public at large. Where the city does not own the fee of the street the only public interest involved is the right of the public at large to use it. The public at large is the public of the entire state. In either case, therefore, the legislature has the right "to release the public right therein, and to provide for closing the same whenever public interest requires."

✻

Jitney Bus Ordinances.—Several jitney and motor bus ordinances[5] have now passed through the final courts of appeal unscathed. In *ex parte Cardinal*[6] the supreme court of California upheld the validity of the San Francisco ordinance. This ordinance required all jitney owners or lessees to put up a surety company bond of $10,000 to cover possible accidents or to carry a policy of liability insurance to the same amount and effect. Each jitney driver must be licensed and must have had thirty days' experience in the operation of an automobile in San Francisco. A jitney is defined as a self-propelled motor vehicle carrying passengers between fixed points for a fare of not more than ten cents. The court held that there was nothing unreasonable in this classification or in any of the other provisions of the ordinance, and that it constituted a proper exercise of the police power.

The ordinance of the city of San Antonio requiring a franchise for the operation of jitney buses in that city was defended by the Texas court of civil appeals in the case of *Greene* v. *San Antonio*.[7] It took a very different ground from the California court, basing its decision primarily on what it conceived to be the well-nigh plenary power of the legislature over highways, which power the legislature has transferred to the city. It declared that the privilege of persons carry-

[1] 153 N. W. 799.
[2] 219 Fed. 699.
[3] 154 N. Y. Supplement 711.
[4] Article 8, Clause 10.
[5] See articles in recent numbers of the REVIEW by W. R. Littleton and W. J. Locke.
[6] 150 Pac. 348.
[7] 178 S. W. 6.

ing passengers for hire to use the streets must depend on a grant or franchise as in the case of other common carriers.

The Texas court of criminal appeals had a simpler task in the case of *Ex parte Sullivan*,[1] which arose out of ordinance of Fort Worth that required a license fee based on the number of seats in the vehicle and a bond or insurance policy of $10,000. The opinion of the court is very long, taking up most of the questions economic as well as legal connected with the jitney problem. Shorn of verbiage, however, it upholds the ordinance under the police power.

Ex parte Dickey[2] upholds the ordinance of Huntington, West Virginia, which requires a license fee of $50 for a vehicle of four seats or under and of $70 for all others. The court draws a very clear distinction between the right of the citizen to travel or transport his goods on the public highway and the right to maintain the business of a common carrier thereon. The latter may be regulated in any way required by public necessity. The court also declared that defining a jitney as a vehicle carrying passengers for a fare of fifteen cents or less does not constitute discrimination unless it be proved that there are other jitney buses charging more than fifteen cents.

From these decisions it is apparent that the courts will in all probability uphold any ordinance, no matter how stringent, regulating the operation of the jitney bus either as a proper exercise of the police power or on the ground that it is a common carrier subject to regulation in its use of the streets.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

The Fourth National Housing Conference.—The success of the fourth national housing conference, Minneapolis, October 6–8, 1915, was a proof that the housing movement has really become country-wide. Starting as an attempt to reform the intolerable conditions which had developed in some of our largest cities, it has during the past five years spread from ocean to ocean, though its communication with the Pacific coast is maintained only through Texas. The prairie states are just beginning to show an interest; the Rocky mountain states have not yet begun. It was for the purpose of strengthening those who are beginning their fight that the conference this year went to the western verge of the awakened territory. Because of the war it was known that Canada would not be represented by its usual delegation, and because of the distance few representatives of the east and the south were expected. Dependence was placed on the northwest. The result exceeded expectations. Though the number of eastern delegates was reduced, those who came were representatives of the best work that is being done. Chicago sent an influential group; but the significant thing was the interest shown by such committees as Madison, Wis., and Kansas City, Mo., and most of all by Minneapolis itself. There the good work done by the Civic and commerce association during the past two years has borne fruit and the local attendance and participation in discussions exceeded that at most of the preceding conferences. The delegates who registered represented 37 cities in 15 states and the Canadian government.

The program was designed to meet a situation which confronts other conferences which have passed the purely propaganda stage and yet must keep propaganda as an essential part of their work. The housing awakening has proceeded apace, yet one of the great functions of the annual conferences must continue to be that of interesting people to whom their messages are still news. At the same time there is now a considerable group who are actively engaged in housing work and who attend in order that they may take part in discussions of technical detail in which the broad human appeal is implied rather than asserted. That they assume, as the

[1] 178 S. W. 537.
[2] 85 S. E. 781.

new recruit without their background can not. In order to provide for both groups the evening sessions, when the largest local attendance might be expected, were devoted to questions of general interest, such as the causes and the effects of bad housing, presented by Elmer S. Forbes of Boston and tenement house commissioner John J. Murphy of New York; and taxation and housing, presented by C. B. Fillebrown of Boston, a single tax advocate, and Prof. E. R. A. Seligman of New York, America's greatest authority on taxation. In the afternoons the discussion was on rather more technical subjects.

In the mornings there were section meetings arranged especially for those who are engaged in active housing work, two under the general head of laws and administration, two under that of construction and management.

In one of the construction and management meetings land subdivision was again considered, this time from the point of view of a development company. At the other the discussion was on the planning of the low cost house. At the first, Frederick Law Olmsted outlined a policy in regard to size and shape of lots and formulated a rule which will be of very great service to those who are concerned in new developments either as responsible public officials or as real estate operators. His paper was an admirable supplement to the more general presentation of the subject by Dr. Nolen at the preceding afternoon session. At the second meeting, Walter H. Kilham, who has demonstrated in Salem, Mass., that cottages are a better asset than three-deckers, presented the results of his experience in a way that aroused keen local interest, for Minneapolis is at present suffering from an apartment house aberration.

One of the main purposes of the conference is to strengthen local interest, so a round table discussion was devoted to the needs and opportunities of Minneapolis in which both local delegates and those from out-of-town took part. The latter had been prepared for the discussion by an inspection trip the day before, during which they had been given at least a glimpse of the Minneapolis problem.

No description of the conference would be complete which did not include mention of the housing institute held on the succeeding day by the Civic and commerce association. Three subjects were discussed: promoting garden suburbs for workingmen, standards for housing codes, and woman's part in the housing movement.

JOHN IHLDER.

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Co-operation Between Universities and Cities.—The second annual conference of the Association of urban universities held in Cincinnati, November 15–17, was deeply significant for many reasons. Of first interest is the increasing number of American universities that are relying in whole or in part or would like to rely in whole or in part upon public appropriations from city treasuries. The University of Cincinnati is the dean of this class of institutions. The association is not limited to universities so supported as its privileges are extended to all those situated in large cities. Yet it is very clear that the primarily urban university is very naturally placing first emphasis on city problems, as the state university has been interesting itself primarily in problems of state co-operation.

The second interesting feature of the association was the large number of co-operative activities now being actually undertaken by the universities situated in cities. It would be indeed difficult to find a phase of university work which had not in one university or another already been correlated with the activities of cities and their officials. The university, its faculty, its library, its experts, are being looked upon as community assets in which the public has a right to democratized services. The motive power back of the university is probably the desire to prove its title to increasing public appropriations on the one hand and to get high grade faculties on the other; for the best signs of the times are that young men are willing to work where co-operation is encouraged, as they may thereby learn the actualities of

their respective specialties at much lower salaries than in institutions where their work is limited to academic functions merely.

Another feature of the conference was the growing desire and demand for junior colleges open to the men of talent and experience who had not had the education and qualifications requisite to traditional university entrance. The University of Pennsylvania has long done just such work in its evening school and its extension school. Other universities, such as the University of Chicago, are now developing the so-called junior colleges.

Just as the extent of actual co-operation has extended, it has become clearer that such co-operation makes for better teaching and makes for better educational results. Thus President Foster, of Reed College, pointed out that if the graduates of Tuskegee were to talk about the same things that the graduates of the larger universities do when they get together, some people would regard it as "conclusive evidence that you could never educate negroes." The want of practicality in the university graduate was pressed home many a time throughout the conference due to the want of practicality in university teaching. Numerous instances were cited to show to what extent classroom work had been improved through co-operation between the professor and the urban official. The reality given to the work of the classroom and seminar arouses the student to his best endeavor. He feels that he is right in the midst of the storm and stress of life itself; that he is not going through motions with a man of straw.

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

Social Hygiene Meetings.—At the public meetings held jointly by the American social hygiene association and the Massachusetts society for social hygiene, in Boston, October 8, 1915, frank and wholesome presentation of such subjects as the venereal diseases, especially in relation to public health, and the legal and moral problems of prostitution, and the earnestness and interest with which they were discussed showed how far the movement has progressed within the past few years, how largely the feeling that these subjects are not fit for public or even private discussion has passed away, and how the air has been cleared of the sensationalism and morbid curiosity once so often urged against the public presentation of such topics.

Dr. Donald R. Hooker of Baltimore, in his address at the first meeting, ascribed to the advance of medical science the transformation of the problem of social hygiene from one of pure morals to one of burning practical importance. Together with this advance goes the change of attitude regarding prostitution, namely, that it cannot longer be officially tolerated in any community, and the grounding of sexual morality not only in ethical ideals, but upon the most convincing scientific facts.

This shifting of point of view was again emphasized by Dr. Edward L. Keyes, Jr., of New York City, who, in speaking upon morals and venereal disease, pointed out the growth of the movement from small and specialized beginnings until "to-day there is not a social or religious organization in the country that has not at least taken cognizance of it. . . . We may well hope that the combination of ancient ideals and modern methods shall result in a material reduction of the great black plague. But we must not permit ourselves to be discouraged into complacent contemplation of the 'narrow limits' within which passion may be influenced. Until the freedom of medical students from infection bears witness to the contrary we must grant to moral education the first place in the campaign against venereal disease. The bright light of our new and wonderful science of hygiene must not blind us to the fact that we are still human, that in youth at least the sexual appetite is indeed man's strongest passion, that this passion is indeed the essential cause of venereal disease, and that for the control of this passion we have but one weapon, the education of the will, moral prophylaxis."

Dr. A. J. McLaughlin, secretary of the Massachusetts state board of health, now

on leave of absence from his duties as surgeon in the U. S. public health service, outlined a program for state departments including the propositions that syphilis should be included with reportable diseases; laboratory tests should be made by the state laboratory free of charge upon requests of physicians; and salvarsan should be furnished free by the state to physicians for cases reported and found positive by the laboratory.

Dr. George W. Goler, health officer of Rochester, speaking of the municipality and the venereal disease problem, pointed out the limited knowledge which even physicians have of the problem, and education as the one recourse to solve it. "This," he said, "is both a medical and social problem . . . it is not to be solved until the . . . diseases cease to be a matter for jest, and until the services of medical workers become social, medical, and moral, and are firmly, more intelligently and thoughtfully brought to bear upon the conquest."

Dr. Charles W. Eliot, toward the close of the conference, suggested that the organization which would most successfully promote social hygiene might well include not only the specialized departments which attempt to deal with the problems usually associated with the movement, but also the related problems of the feebleminded, recreation, and the like. He expressed the belief that if the several organizations now interested in these problems were united as co-ordinate parts of one general body, public interest, confidence and support would be more surely obtained.

President Abram W. Harris of Northwestern university was elected president of the association to succeed Dr. Eliot who, however, retains his association with it as honorary president.

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The Ohio Municipal League.—The fifth annual meeting was held in Dayton on November 17. Heretofore it has held its annual meetings in Columbus, during a session of the legislature. As the next regular session of the legislature will not come until 1917, and the present indication is that there will not be a special session in 1916, it was decided to hold an autumn meeting of the league in lieu of any 1916 convention. By meeting in Dayton at this time delegates of the league were afforded the opportunity of attending sessions of the National Municipal League and the other municipal associations convening in Dayton during the same week.

The convention was confined to a single session, which was devoted to the problem, still pressing for Ohio cities, of city finances.

A committee was created for the purpose of devising and conducting a campaign of education for tax reform to be secured either through the popular initiative in 1916 or from the legislature of 1917. It is hoped that by this method such efforts can be pursued with better effect than the league has recently achieved when their plans have been formed during the same session of the legislature from which they were seeking relief.

F. W. Coker.[1]

✻

Valuation Conference.—We had hoped to have a report of the very interesting and instructive conference on franchise valuation held in Philadelphia, November 10 to 12, under the auspices of the Utilities bureau. An article detailing the more important points was submitted, but as we are going to press we have just discovered that a duplicate was furnished to another periodical and published by it, so that we will have to postpone our consideration until the April issue.—Editor.

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The American Society of Municipal Improvement held its twenty-first annual meeting in Dayton the first week in October. This society was organized September 18, 1894, five months after the National Municipal League had been organized. Originally containing a membership of 60 municipal officials, it now has over 600. It is the only society of its

[1] Of the Ohio State University and secretary of the Ohio Municipal League.

kind in this particular field, being composed of those who are connected with municipal construction work. The program as usual dealt largely with technical questions. Andrew F. McCallum, Hamilton, Ontario, was elected president, and Charles Carroll Brown, editor of *Municipal Engineering*, Indianapolis, was re-elected secretary.

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League of American Municipalities.—The nineteenth annual convention met in New Orleans in the midst of a tropical hurricane, the wind blowing 60, 90 and finally 130 miles an hour before the day was over. The attendance was small, perhaps 60 delegates out of some 4,000 invited being present. Many of the officers were absent, among them the president. Most of the program for the first day was carried over to the second on account of tardiness in the arrival of important officials. The New Orleans papers were most interesting and have already been referred to in notes in this and previous issues of the REVIEW. Mayor Behrman of New Orleans was elected president, and Robert E. Lee of Baltimore, re-elected secretary.

✽

Dayton Municipal Exhibit.—"The tax dollar is your best spent dollar" was the slogan of Dayton's first exhibit of city manager government, recently concluded. The exhibition was held in the basement and first floor of Memorial hall during the week beginning October 9, and was supervised by the local bureau of municipal research, co-operating with the city government, the schools, and the county. An effort was made to present a very creditable exhibit, and in character and size it has probably not been outclassed except by New York City.

The show was informally opened, and there were no speeches except as each bureau of the government was required to have men constantly on the ground to demonstrate its exhibit and receive and answer questions from the visiting public. It was an effective presentation of community work and community needs, and was designed to tell the people in a simple and straightforward manner what the government had done, and was proposing to do.

At a total cost of $1,500—which is less than that of printing many a city report—50,000 people were brought into intimate contact with the government. Here was a report in models, charts, photographs, and music, and folk dancing, and word of mouth explanations by the men and women doing the work; and it was seen, and read, and studied by half of the city's population; and that population went away knowing that city employes are earnest human beings, conscientious in the service which they are rendering, and who are stimulated to better things by the interest which their employers show.

The exhibit had a further significance since it offered to students from all over the country an excellent opportunity to judge critically the results of two years of a unique type of city administration. Throughout the show there were emphasized some new characteristics of local government—the clean-cut character of men who are carrying out public policies; the co-operation which exists between departments; the use of police by the health department, the service being rendered by the department of correction in the cleaning and maintenance of parks, etc. Also, there was a certain inspiration obtained by departments in learning what other departments are doing, and in realizing the advances which have been made.

Finally, the exhibit was the worst blow that the unfriendly critic of the new government has received. No person having a knowledge of municipal administration in America, and familiar with the standards by which municipalities must be judged, can hestitate in believing that Dayton has marched far ahead of most cities in the country.

LENT D. UPSON.[1]

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Training for Municipal Service.—*Kommunale Praxis*, of August 14, 1915, announces the appointment of Dr. Hugo Lindemann as privat-docent of munici-

[1] National Cash Register Co.

pal affairs at the technical high school in Stuttgart. The appointment is significant for several reasons. In the first place, training for municipal service in Germany had hitherto been given only in special schools, from which the growing number of desirable candidates were, for various reasons, excluded. The Lindemann docentiate inaugurates municipal training in a school where the privileges are open to all. A further reason which makes this appointment significant has a political bearing. Dr. Lindemann is a declared social-democrat, and his accession to the educational forces of Germany, from which persons of socialistic tendencies had been studiously excluded, indicates the end of the assumption that affiliation with social-democracy discredits a man as political economist.

Dr. Lindemann is known as co-editor of the *Kummunales Jahrbuch*, and as author of *Arbeiterpolitik u. Wirtschaftspflege in der deutschen Städteverwaltung*, 1914, 2v.; *Die deutsche Städteverwaltung*, 1906, ed. 2; *Die Städtische Regie*, 1907; *Wohnungsstatistik*, 1901; joint author with Paul Hirsch of *Das Kommunale Wahlrecht*, 1911; as well as author of numerous magazine articles. Dr. Lindemann, furthermore, has been active politically in the German Reichstag, the diet of Württemberg and in the municipal government of Stuttgart. A. R. Hasse.

✻

Resignation of Health Commissioner Goldwater.—By the recent resignation of Health Commissioner S. S. Goldwater, the city of New York loses the services of an efficient head of the department. Possessed of strong executive ability and capacity for initiative, Dr. Goldwater, during his brief administration, introduced a number of important reforms and was able to secure the adoption of others which had been urged by his predecessors but not authorized by those in control of the city purse strings. Among these achievements are the establishment of bureaus of public health education, industrial hygiene and statistical research, the revision of the sanitary code, the campaigns against unmuzzled dogs, fraudulent patent medicines and overcrowded street cars, and the annual physical examination of employes.

"**The Town**" is the title of a civic journal which is to be published for eight months of each year by the Woman's Civic League of Baltimore. The first issue contains a number of short articles dealing with important local problems. The editor is Miss Harlean James, the secretary of the league.

✻

Alberta Utility Commission.—The province of Alberta has created a utility commission consisting of three members to exercise a general supervisory control over all public utilities in that province, and to act as an advisory board on all municipal improvements involving bond issues. A considerable report on municipal ownership of public utilities was published in "Commerce Reports" for November 16, 1915.

✻

Mrs. Edward W. Biddle has been elected president of the Civic Club of Philadelphia. Mrs. Biddle, a member of the National Municipal League, was formerly president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs and as such contributed largely to promoting interest in civic affairs in the women's organizations of the state.

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Harvey S. Chase of Boston has been retained by the Goodnow commission to assist in reorganizing the affairs of the state of Maryland, and by Governor-elect McCall for similar work in Massachusetts.

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George McAneny, who since 1913 has been president of the board of aldermen of Greater New York, and who for four years prior thereto was president of the Borough of Manhattan, having accepted the invitation of Adolph S. Ochs of the *New York Times* to associate himself with him in the conduct of that paper, has resigned his public office to take effect the first of January.

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R. C. Journey has been put in charge of the recently established municipal reference library at the University of Missouri at Columbia, Missouri.

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Frederick P. Gruenberg has been elected director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, succeeding Ralph Bowman who has gone to the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

I. BOOK REVIEWS

THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY. Six volumes, edited by Paul U. Kellogg, Director. New York: Survey Associates, Publishers for the Russell Sage Foundation.

Women and the Trades. By Elizabeth Beardsley Butler. $1.72.

Work-Accidents and the Law. By Crystal Eastman. $1.72.

Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town. By Margaret F. Byington. $1.70.

The Steel Workers. By John A. Fitch. $1.73.

The Pittsburgh District. By a number of contributors. $2.70.

Wage-Earning Pittsburgh. By a number of contributors. $2.50.

No social investigation that was ever undertaken in the United States has attracted such wide-spread attention as the Pittsburgh survey.[1] Nor was there ever an investigation of the kind which so fully merited the attention it has enlisted. Conceived by the editorial staff of the *Charities and the Commons* (now the *Survey*), financed in principal part by the Russell Sage Foundation, and carried out by an efficient staff of able and inspirited investigators, the prime object of the survey was to apply the spirit and the methods of science in bringing to light the facts—or at least some of the facts—concerning the living and working conditions of the wage-earners of an American industrial district. For this purpose concentration was indispensable—concentration alike as to locality and period of time. The Pittsburgh district was selected as the locality. This was not from any desire to cast peculiar opprobrium upon Pittsburgh, but because it was a giant type of the modern industrial urban community. It presented perhaps all of the bad, and many of the hopeful, conditions that can be found in industrial centres throughout the county. But the study itself, localized as it of necessity was, was in fact national in purpose and in product. Pittsburgh may yet, if it has not already done so, have cause to be gratified that its name has been so closely identified with an investigation which, however distasteful some of its disclosures may have been, will loom large in the history of the progress of social and industrial reform in the United States.

A period of about a year, beginning in the early autumn of 1907, was selected as the time for the survey. Social and industrial facts are obviously not the product of a single year. They vary somewhat with the general conditions of industry. The reasons for some of them are deeply rooted in the history and traditions of races. Especially is this true in communities with large and unamalgamated foreign populations. It could not be expected that investigators, no matter how eager and capable they were, could unearth within the short period of a year *all* of the pertinent facts concerning the living and working conditions of the heterogeneous people of an industrial

[1] The first public statement of the results of the Pittsburgh Survey was made at the opening session of the fourteenth annual meeting of the National Municipal League held in Pittsburgh, November 16–19, 1908. The following addresses were delivered at that time and are to be found in the proceedings of the Pittsburgh conference: The Pittsburgh Survey. Discussion by Robert W. DeForest, Grosvenor Atterbury, H. D. W. English, Graham Taylor and Dr. Edward T. Devine.

community. But social facts are at best illusive. It may be that in the course of time social justice will be realized upon such a scale that reformers will be compelled to be more exhaustively scientific in offering facts. But that time is not yet. There is so much of patent injustice that exhaustive investigations are unnecessary. Time is the essence of any practical achievement where so much is immediately desirable. It would seem, therefore, that the survey wisely limited its investigation in point of time.

It would seem also that the directors of the survey displayed great wisdom in the matter of the publication of results. There is no doubt that had the six volumes which now represent the permanent form of the survey been the only medium of publication much of the public interest which has been aroused would have failed. Instead of this, many of the results of the investigations were given to the public through the medium of magazine articles (particularly the special issues of *Charities and the Commons* in 1909), newspapers, exhibits, and addresses. For this reason, as well as because four of the volumes were published as far back as 1909–11, it seems unnecessary to review the entire series in detail, even if it were possible to do so in the brief space allowed. A word as to each, however, may not be inappropriate.

Miss Butler's *Women and the Trades* is a study of the working conditions of 22,185 women wage-earners in Pittsburgh. It paints a picture that is not in all of its aspects pleasant to contemplate. But while the existing conditions described are in some instances manifestly inexcusable, the proper cure for others is not so apparent—perhaps not so ready at hand as the author seems sometimes to indicate. For example, there is nothing that is new in the distresses of seasonal occupations such as that of the manufacture of confections; but there may be those who would dispute the intimation that in this industry such distresses could be avoided by the manufacture of Christmas candies in the spring on the theory that a good cream chocolate "has a better taste six months after it is made than the day after." However, this is a detail. The volume presents an excellent and doubtless accurate description of conditions. It is a matter of small consequence if some of Miss Butler's conclusions as to means of amelioration are open to criticism.

It must be a matter of some satisfaction to Miss Crystal Eastman (now Mrs. Benedict) that since the writing of her *Work-Accidents and the Law* such great progress has been made in so many states toward the solution of the problems of adequate compensation for industrial injuries and deaths. This volume is one of the best of the series, though it must be admitted that its picture is occasionally painted with a little more color than is warranted by the facts that are stated. The facts, however, are often difficult to get at and the occasional addition of color doubtless does not exaggerate the probabilities. The slight point of criticism is that while color makes for popular appeal and for impressiveness it is not scientific; to which it may not unreasonably be rebutted that this survey was not made for the closet anatomist of social conditions but for red-blooded people to think about and act upon. Surely this book must have had no inconsiderable influence in accelerating the steps that have been taken recently in the direction of ameliorating the conditions it depicts.

Miss Byington's volume describing the conditions of living in a single mill town, Homestead, which is seven miles from Pittsburgh proper, is a somewhat different study from that of other volumes of the series. The others deal with unit problems of the wage-earners of the district; hers with the general problems of a unit of the district. It is an absorbingly interesting study of housing and living conditions in relation to family budgets and of civic indifference and incompetence. Its statistics are admittedly incomplete, as such statistics must of necessity be.

Mr. Fitch's *The Steel Workers* describes and discusses conditions of the wage-earners of one of America's mighty industries. His volume involves far more

of historical investigation than any of the others, for, dealing as he does principally with the prime factors of wages and hours of labor, it was essential that he should develop the all-important evolution of the labor union in its relation to this industry. On the whole it must be said that he has handled an extremely controversial subject with admirable fairness. He has not slurred over the arrogances and stupidities of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. No more—perhaps less—has he glossed the inexorable attitude of the United States Steel Corporation (or its predecessors) in its successful determination utterly to break the grip of organized labor upon this entire industry. There is little of bias or prejudice in what he has written. In the portrayal he presents, the spot-light of present distress unquestionably rests upon the length of the working day. For this there ought to be some possible and adequately fair solution, in spite of the difficult demands of certain divisions of labor in the industry and the relations of these divisions to one another. But, as the author admits, even in the days of union operation the workers appear to have given little consideration to the problem of hours of work.

Mr. Fitch does not regard with approval the policy of benevolent despotism which has been substituted by employers in the steel industry for the more democratic policy of collective bargaining by the employes. There is much to be said on both sides. However wrong in theory may be the policy of the Steel Corporation, and however objectionable certain of its features may be in practice, it certainly has to its credit an era of industrial peace that is in point of duration probably unmatched in any of the other great industries of the country. It is nevertheless open to question whether democracy in labor, as in the state itself, in spite of its inefficiency, uncertainty, extravagance, and occasional unreason, does not offer to the individual spiritual rewards that are of infinitely greater benefit than any amount of material prosperity that springs from the compulsory benevolence of an autocratic superior.

The Pittsburgh District, though published only in 1914, is properly the first volume of the series. It consists for the most part of papers or parts of papers which had previous publication, chiefly in *Charities and the Commons*. These papers give the setting of the entire survey and deal also with certain specific civic problems, such as civic improvement possibilities, the typhoid situation, housing conditions, aldermanic courts, taxation, schools, playgrounds, and libraries. It is impossible to review these studies in detail. All of them are valuable and many are of unusual excellence.

So also *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh* is a volume of collected studies. These deal with problems of industrial well-being rather than with civic problems, to which *The Pittsburgh District* is devoted. A larger number of the papers in this volume have not been heretofore published. There is a general summation of the findings of the survey by its director, Paul U. Kellogg, and a general review of the labor conditions of wage-earners in the various trades of Pittsburgh by John R. Commons and William M. Leiserson. In addition there are special studies of immigrant wage-earners, of the negro, of factory inspection, of industrial hygiene, and of child welfare.

In the six volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey there would indeed be much to criticize as to form of presentation if one failed to consider the inherent difficulties of dividing the labor of such a stupendous investigation among numerous field-workers and if one ignored the manner in which the results of the investigation were originally presented to the public. Had the findings been prepared merely for book publication there is no doubt that greater orderliness and system would have been possible. As it is, the student must "rummage" to find all that the survey offers on this or that subject, and there is some repetition. However, such a student will find rich reward for his pains; for these volumes are crowded with data and discourse of vital signification to every thinking man or woman in the United States.

Howard Lee McBain.
Columbia University.

A Handbook of Civic Improvement. By Herman G. James, J.D., Ph.D., University of Texas. Presumably published by the Author, at Austin, Texas. 120 pp., 5¾″ x 8¼″. Paper cover. $1.

That there is need for a simple, definite and comprehensive primer on the subjects generally grouped as civic improvements is certain. That this volume partly meets that need is probable. It is well written, modern, and evidently the result of knowledge, study and conviction.

In the preface, Dr. James sets forth his threefold intention; that the book shall "show the average citizen and city official alike what is to be expected of city government"; that it is to furnish "a handy guide-book for a community survey"; and that it shall serve as "a laboratory guide in municipal science for college classes."

In a discussion as to "what is good city government," the author makes the sound statement that "the test of good citizenship lies in the existence of an intelligent, continuing interest in the questions of good city government"; a statement as true as it is concise. Then follow chapters on public health, safety, education, morals, and on social welfare and city planning.

Each chapter is ended by a "question sheet," answers to which in respect of any community will assuredly disclose its actual relation of efficiency or inefficiency in dealing with its population. One can imagine, with some amusement, the average boasting citizen of "the finest town in the state, sir!" stammering in ignorance when he faces questions on the food supply, on school hygiene, on the public safety provisions, on the actualities and not the generalities of education, on public morals, and on the other plain details of a community life that ought to promote, guard and direct its citizens.

It is probably the desire for compactness and brevity that has caused Dr. James to give less attention to some subjects than one could prefer—as, for instance, the yet neglected matter of the vital relation of public recreational facilities to community vitality and prosperity. Yet the suggestion on this subject is wholly sound, as are the suggestions and statements of the little book in general.

The physical form of Dr. James' book is a handicap to the usefulness it should have. An ill-proportioned page, stiff wire binding and a flimsy paper cover are unfair for a work definitely proposed as a text-book. It is unfortunate that the real value of such a primer should be blanketed by inexcusable mechanical deficiencies, in these days of the cheap but adequate making of books.

Dr. James' Handbook is of sufficient importance to warrant me in having it properly bound for use, and I trust others who read it will similarly recognize the practicability of putting it into a more convenient and permanent shape. I believe, also, that the fine possibilities for usefulness this handbook includes will warrant a new edition prepared in such fashion as to promote its wide circulation.

J. Horace McFarland.

Purchasing, Its Economic Aspects and Proper Methods. By H. B. Twyford. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. $3.

It is remarkable, as the author of this book points out, that although to the making of many books, dealing with the reduction of labor costs, there has been no end, the literature heretofore devoted to the art and philosophy of buying has been neither extensive nor exhaustive. Occasionally the subject has been treated briefly in works on scientific management, but it is something new to make it the subject of a book. Accordingly the advent of this volume on purchasing is welcomed by those who believe that it treats of an economic field worthy of investigation and report.

The growing feeling, that municipalities no less than private institutions would greatly profit by systematizing their work in purchasing, makes this volume of interest to those concerned with good municipal administration. The author's

acquaintance with his subject has apparently been entirely with purchasing by private institutions, but his work as the purchasing agent for the underground electric railways of London, England, and his connection with the purchasing of such concerns as the Otis elevator company and the J. G. White engineering corporation give evidence of his fitness to deal with the subject. The avowed purpose of the author is to call attention to "the economies which can be effected by the use of efficient methods in the purchasing of materials, goods, and supplies."

In the first three chapters the subject of purchasing is handled very generally with headings of principles, functional position and ethics. Chapters IV to VII inclusive present the author's ideas on the organization of the purchasing machinery, considering it under the agent, his department, its organization, and its procedure.

The personality of the agent is given emphasis, and the advantage of securing one who is tactful, is pointed out. First importance is given to the ability to meet other men without arousing their animosity, as "being on a good footing with the men with whom deals are being made is a great advantage," and further that "it is essentially through the character and make-up of the man in charge that the best results are obtained." Having these necessary qualifications, he must acquire complete knowledge of supply, consumption, quality and prices. The sphere of the department, the necessity for its amicable relations with all others, the required clerical force and its proper handling, are next dealt with, and the advisability of having the traffic, the inspection and the storekeeping divisions directly connected with purchasing is considered, with the conclusion that it will depend upon what kind of institution is being served. In particular instances, as in the case of city purchasing departments, some of these divisions will not be needed and others would probably be consolidated with advantage. In the organization of the department there should be no "indispensable man," as stoppage or delay in the work of purchasing cannot be allowed and provision must be made for the work to continue during the temporary absence of any employe. Where it is possible there should be an understudy who can handle the work in case of emergency. A temporary interchange of duties, between the members of the clerical force, occasionally, will tend toward intelligent cooperation between them, and it will be found conducive to "more enthusiasm which breeds loyalty and contentment which in turn beget efficiency."

In discussing procedure, the author shows that incompleteness of system will render operation laborious and inefficient but that over-systematizing will cause the structure to fall by its own weight. Good system produces order, regularity and expedition, and its justification is its effectiveness in covering with accuracy and dispatch all the points comprehended in the work, provided, always, that increased economy is the result.

Following the consideration of the purchasing machinery is the general consideration of its actual operating routine, in chapters VIII to XI inclusive, under proper records, requisition and order, handling invoices and storekeeping. This section of the volume is in reality a manual of office procedure and the description of individual steps is accompanied by the forms used in actual practice by the concerns with which the author has had purchasing experience.

The last section of the work, including chapters XII to XV, is a description of purchasing as practised by concerns (1) constructing and operating electric railroads, (2) doing a manufacturing and construction business, (3) doing construction work and operating in widely separate localities, and, (4) operating a small manufacturing establishment. Here, as in the preceding section, abundant use is made of forms to illustrate procedure and this frequently accompanied by comment as to their applicability to various business enterprises. No man capable of directing a purchasing department would attempt to use one of these four outlines as a ready-made plan of operation for his own department, but many will appreciate

this information about the handling, by others, of matters of routine in purchasing.

The treatment given the subject indicates a thorough study of the economic principles involved and actual contact with the problems of purchasing in various fields.

ROSCOE D. WYATT.

New York Training School for Public Service.

PURCHASING. By C. S. Rindfoos. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. $2.

The incentive to write this book, according to the author, was a "realization of the importance of the art of purchasing, coupled with an almost total lack of literature on the subject." Purchasing is a matter of manifest importance from the viewpoint of a municipal administrator since increasing attention is to-day being given to buying material, goods and supplies for cities, towns and counties. Briefly, the business of the purchasing agent may be said to be buying the right material in the right amount for the right price at the right time, but the subject of purchasing is a broad one and the author has done well to deal with the underlying principles within the space of one hundred and sixty-five pages. Advertising, accounting, credits, traffic management and storekeeping have been omitted (except incidentally) and with good results.

The first three chapters tell in general of the knowledge necessary to the efficient purchasing agent. They treat in turn of how to obtain the right article, the lowest price and promptness in delivery. The weakness in most purchasing agents is unfamiliarity with the details of the business for which they purchase. It is essential to know the use to which the article is to be put, the article itself, the source of supply, the manufacturing process, the price and the demand. The methods of securing and keeping available this information, are dealt with under such heads as requisitions, inspection, catalogues, samples, analysis, price cards, bids, contracts and tabulations. The importance of standardizing purchases and securing active competition among bidders is emphasized.

Chapter IV shows the advantage of having a definite policy, which if good should be well known. Cordial relations should exist between the buyer and seller. Slow pay is costly. It is credited with being "one of the principal reasons why irresponsible and high-priced middlemen are so often the successful bidders for the city's [New York's] supply contracts."

Chapter V indicates the usual cash discounts and terms in various lines of trade and the manner in which they may best be obtained.

In Chapters VI and VII the author again deals with the purchasing agent. In the former, he enumerates several qualifications other than that of knowledge, already mentioned, which are particularly desirable. Specialists are likely to become narrow. The purchasing agent is proverbially so, and he must be on the alert to develop a breadth of view. Tact should characterize the purchasing agent and it should be made use of within his own organization as well as without it. Knowledge of men is very essential. Aptitude, natural or acquired, is important. In the latter of these chapters, called "Strategy," the author points out some of the tactics, good and otherwise, which have been used. The need of knowledge is again emphasized, here a knowledge of human nature.

Chapter VIII is a short discussion of "Some of the legal aspects of purchasing," not by the author but by an attorney-at-law, and is intended to aid purchasing agents in avoiding unnecessary disputes and misunderstandings which result from indefinite language or action, and further to clarify the situation in case of subsequent litigation.

The greater part of Chapter IX, "Departmental organization," is given over to a report prepared by W. Richmond Smith for New York City. This proposed system for New York City will be of especial value to those interested in municipal purchasing, storing and distributing.

The final chapter contains forms which will be found helpful in the routine work of purchasing.

ROSCOE D. WYATT.

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INSTALLING EFFICIENCY METHODS. By C. E. Knoeppel. New York: The Engineering Magazine Company, 1915.

This is an important contribution because of both the method and the quality of treatment of the subject. The method presents a combination of discussion of principles with detailed explanation of methods, mechanism and results of organization, not found in any other work. The quality of treatment shows the experience of a successful practitioner who is an original and independent thinker, and who has a capacity for precise analysis and logical synthesis. The style arouses and sustains interest—but possibly in places with a sacrifice of dignity.

The opening chapter pictures the meeting of a board of directors who realize that their plant is being run at a loss. The suggestion of one member, that an organizing engineer be called in, is received coldly by his associates, who assert that no outsider can possibly tell them anything about their business. Finally, however, as a last resort, it is reluctantly agreed that the expert be consulted. Then follow a number of chapters describing a preliminary investigation, analysis of the business, diagnosis of the trouble and determination of what reorganization should be undertaken. The book soon drops its narrative form and becomes a discussion of principles and description of methods developed as follows: organization; co-operation between organizing engineer, management and men; time study; the planning department (three chapters); standardization (two chapters); bonus wage system; efficiency clearing house (legislative or committee management); costs. In each chapter principles are clearly stated and defended, methods are clearly described and mechanism is abundantly illustrated by forms and diagrams.

In a work so full of details of method and of mechanism are to be found inevitably many which a reader might criticize unfavorably. But such criticism would not be worth while. The reviewer restricts himself to what seem to him to be three major points of possible disagreement. First, throughout the book appears what seems to be a spirit of opportunism, a spirit which inclines the organizing engineer to "hit the high spots," to be satisfied with moderate rather than fundamental and maximum improvement. Second, the committee, or legislative, system of organization recommended by the author seems to build up too complicated a system of checks and balances for the accomplishment of more than moderate results. We doubt whether, in his practice, the author makes his committee system as strong as he makes it on paper. Third, the chapter (X) describing the functions of the organizing engineer and the staff (as distinguished from the line) suggests that the staff is brought into the plant instead of being developed from within the plant. This point, however, is not clear.

The author is obviously an eclectic. He combines principles and methods derived from the writings of Mr. Emerson and Mr. Taylor, and those developed by his own experience. The book is representative of the Emerson rather than of the Taylor point of view.

H. S. PERSON.

Amos Tuck School, Dartmouth College.

✻

A MANUAL FOR HEALTH OFFICERS. By J. Scott MacNutt, A.B., S.B. With a Foreword by William T. Sedgwick. New York: John Wiley & Sons. $3.

A handbook for health officers and for students of public health both in and out of the schools has been needed for many years—not that there has been a lack of books on sanitary science and public hygiene, but because few if any of these approached health problems sufficiently near the viewpoint of the person charged with the daily administration of local health protection. As a pioneer work kept within the limits of a real handbook,

the manual before us is a success. This is not surprising to those who know what preparation and inspiration the author had for his task.

Schooled at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology under Prof. William T. Sedgwick, Mr. MacNutt was subsequently health officer of one of a group of New Jersey municipalities that drew upon the institute for full-time health officers educated in the fundamentals of sanitary science and public health instead of taking men educated in private medicine as part-time health officers. After gaining practical experience at Orange, Mr. MacNutt did what too few are able and willing to do in this hurried generation. That is, he took a year or so to supplement his schooling and practical experience by a study of the available literature and to prepare a handbook to meet the every-day needs of health officers. The result reflects credit on all who have contributed to the end in view.

The book is in two parts. The first deals with the organization and powers of local, state and federal health authorities, reviews unofficial health organizations, and concludes with surveys of public health science and problems and of the old and the new public health. The second part covers the whole field of public health administration, including communicable diseases, child hygiene, milk and other food supplies, water supplies, housing and industrial hygiene, nuisances, sanitary law, the annual report, vital statistics and, last but not least, publicity. Appendixes give in more technical detail information on disinfection, standard rules for milk supplies, rules for statistical practice, and standard forms for various purposes, including the annual report.

The author's treatment of the governmental relations of public health administration will appeal to the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. The concluding chapter of Part I, "The new public health," might well be read by every intelligent citizen. Much of Part II, on the specific facts and methods of health administration, is also of wide general interest.

Wherever opportunity affords, the author lays stress on two basic principles of public health work: (1) it must for the most part be conducted by local government units; (2) the center of infection and therefore the point of attack or object of control in the case of communicable diseases is the infected and infective person, including the unsuspecting carrier of disease.

As has already been indicated, the book is a good one. The field is so broad that, although condensation is often carried to the limit, short of omission, six hundred pages are filled. In the many successive editions which may be expected, perhaps the author will find it feasible to condense still more at some points and omit entirely at others those sections dealing with sanitary science, thus gaining space for further details of administrative practice.

M. N. BAKER.[1]

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REFUSE DISPOSAL: A PRACTICAL MANUAL FOR MUNICIPAL ENGINEERS, MEMBERS OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES, ETC. By Ernest R. Matthews, Chadwick Professor of Municipal Engineering in the University of London. London: Charles Griffin & Company; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915.

An exposition of the collection and disposal of garbage, ashes and other municipal refuse, as practiced in England. The space devoted to collection is small and but little is said about any method of disposal except burning. The principal types of British destructors or furnaces are described and some short, rather categorical illustrated descriptions of actual installations are given. There is a chapter on destructors or furnaces for villages and institutions, another one on the use of the clinker or solid residue from the destructors and two chapters on chimney construction. The volume is shorter, somewhat less technical and lower priced than Goodrich's "Modern Destructor Practice" and shorter still than the same author's "Refuse Disposal and Power Production," two earlier British books.

[1] Vice-president, New Jersey state department of health; late president, board of health, Montclair, N. J.

It contains nothing on American furnaces; nor on garbage disposal by reduction, with recovery of grease and fertilizer base, the process used by a number of the largest American cities. All these phases of refuse disposal were treated by Morse's "The Collection and Disposal of Municipal Waste" (1908).

⚜

The Orthocratic State. By John S. Crosby. New York: Sturgis & Walton Co. $1.00.

There has appeared from the press of Sturgis and Walton a book with the suggestive title "The Orthocratic State." Its author, John S. Crosby, a native of Maine, who emigrated in the early seventies to Missouri and Kansas, later and until his death a citizen of New York, where he lent the aid of a winning personality and eloquent voice to many worthy causes, seeks therein to determine the sanction, the proper functions and limitations of the state, and to ascertain "the unchanging principles of civics and government." His self-imposed task will seem to many a quixotic quest, specially to those who look on government and its offspring, statute law, as the be-all, cure-all and end-all here. To such persons the only limit to government is the extent of its power.

Mr. Crosby grew up in a period when there still lingered a faint belief in those exploded fallacies, once known to the fathers as natural and human rights. Those of us who are very wise now know that there are no such things, though they helped to sustain the spirit of the republic for more than a century.

"The Orthocratic State" is predicated on the assumption that the function of the state is to give effect to and strengthen such rights, not to contravene or abolish them, when such action seems to the immature thought of the time to lead to the higher good. "Natural, human rights," said Mr. Crosby, "are to the science of conduct and hence to the science of government, what the axioms of mathematics are to the science of quantity."

Society and the state are considered as separate entities and their mutual relations illustrated: "Functions of government" and the "Abuses of civil power" are the titles of the chapters dealing with what governments should and should not do. The final chapter, devoted to civic problems, contains the author's solution of questions perplexing society.

The outstanding theory which distinguishes this book from many dealing with kindred subjects, is this examination and denunciation of the usurped power of the state to create artificial persons known as corporations. These Frankensteins seem to Mr. Crosby, second only to the denial of human rights in land, the source of most of our modern evils. Although many will not agree with him, his examination of the subject is sane and powerful and will repay a careful reading by those who would like to know the most that can be said upon that side of the case.

He points out that the corporation was originally devised for the purpose of clothing individuals with "civil authority to perform some apparently public service which did not seem to have been adequately provided for in the ordinary machinery of government." From this he traces the stages by which charters for all sorts of purposes have come to be had for the asking, so freely that they are thought to be no longer privileges; he shows that the federal supreme court has declared the right of incorporation to be a privilege which may be taxed; and he believes that such unnatural aggregations have tended to intensify the extremes of wealth and poverty, which have come to be so marked a feature of our modern life. The philosophy of the book is the reverse of socialistic. It will furnish many arguments to those who distrust the promises and methods of that well-meaning but nebulous ideal.

John J. Murphy.

New York City.

⚜

Economic Aspects of the War. By Edwin J. Clapp. Yale University Press.

One of the incidental horrors of the war—affecting especially neutrals—is the output of books about the war. It is to be regretted that the imprint of a

university press should not at least be an *imprimatur* as to the scholarly character of a book. Professor Clapp's book represents the character of publication which justifies the cynical comment "a professor is known by the *number* of books he writes."

The book is a curious mixture of amateur international law, stock ticker gossip and clipping bureau philosophy. An appendix of official documents, including a letter of Jefferson to Pinckney in 1793, neither adds to or detracts from the merits of the book.

Professor Clapp has confused specific trade problems with economic aspects—it is significant that there is no serious attempt to discuss banking, exchange or monetary problems. The distinctly pro-German attitude, coupled with slurring references to British policies, deprives the book of judicial tone.

The "economic" tone of the book no less than its general point of view is indicated by the following extracts:

Pp. 15–16. "The most striking circumstances (*sic*) in this extraordinary situation is the fact that Great Britain has at no time maintained a genuine blockade."

P. 96. "In all British procedure regarding us there is nothing more annoying than the apparent assumption that we can be silenced by the money argument."

P. 290. "How the war comes out is none of a neutral's affairs. Our business as a nation is to look after our own interests."

P. 288. "May not Britain be asking us to drive German genius farther than our interests can follow?"

P. 307. "Therefore, neither Great Britain nor any other nation of the world could blame us if we laid an embargo upon the exportation of arms for the purpose of enforcing our right to trade unhindered with Germany and the neutral nations of Europe, in all but contraband (as defined in a reasonable contraband list) with German destination."

Perhaps Professor Clapp's attitude may be accounted for by the fact that he is also the author of a book "The Port of Hamburg, 12 mo., cloth binding, gilt top, 220 pages, 19 illustrations, price $1.50 net."

ALBERT DE ROODE.

New York.

THE LIFE OF A CITIZEN. By J. Augustus Johnson. New York: The Vail—Ballou Press. 292 pp.

In our democracy the most striking feature is the success of various reform movements—political and social—against intrenched and seemingly impregnable forces. Their success is not due to the prominence of the publicly-acclaimed leaders, nor yet to the loyal support given by the electorate. In each reform there are groups of men—sometimes only one man—earnestly, ingeniously and quietly giving their best, with no lust for publicity or hope of reward.

The philosopher in *Ecclesiastes* evidently had this type of man in mind when he wrote: "The words of wise men are heard in quiet more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools."

Written for the inspiration of his descendants, and published by one of those descendants as a most fitting monument, the simple and unaffected autobiography of J. Augustus Johnson gives an insight into the type of man which helps to make our democracy a spiritual and united government rather than a selfish clamorous tribe.

Spending his early years abroad in missionary work, Mr. Johnson returned to this country to find it virtually a new land. "To me it was a new world," he records. "Columbus could not have been more surprised when he discovered America." Upon the new problems he entered quietly and fearlessly, built up a successful and aggressive law practice and gave fully of himself to the work of civil service reform, municipal reform, and such movements as the Legal aid society, the Children's aid society and the American seamen's friend society.

It is a record of a useful and unselfish life, worth reading and remembering. The style has the charm of intimacy natural to a book of which the author says: "I have written of what I remembered for such use as my children may wish, as they gather around their firesides and tell tales of a garrulous grandfather."

ALBERT DE ROODE.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING. By G. H. Gerber. New York: The New York Book Company.

This book does not discuss the high cost of living. Its thesis is (1) that legislation has placed upon capital "wasteful, destructive, shackling, hampered burdens" which have depressed and discouraged business progress and development, thus wasting "hundreds of millions of dollars annually," and (2) that labor has by "unsound policies" raised "prices of commodities and other living expenses." Both these tenets are assumed with but little evidence to substantiate the assumption. What evidence is submitted includes such statements as that the railroads have been put to an extra expense of "not less than $31,024,258.00" for the year 1910, in making the rates which public authorities have required. The conclusions are lightly reached and are worthless. Thus as to franchises the author argues that our utility ills are due to the "fallacy of short term franchises" and concludes that the policy to follow is to give the utility companies their franchises "free of charge" reserving "the right at any time upon making full compensation to the owners to take the property." But as to what "full compensation" is or how it should be measured, he says not a word. Yet these are, of course, the really essential problems at issue. The book cheerfully questions all our legislative tendencies and the practices of labor and gleefully approves what capital has done. Assuming that the reader should have facts along these lines, why give them to him under the guise of a discussion of the high cost of living?

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

PUBLIC BUDGETS. Edited by Prof. Augustus R. Hatton. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science. 1915.

The most recent issue of *The Annals* consists of contributions on public budgets, edited by Professor A. R. Hatton, which discussions are concerned with the more comprehensive features of fiscal planning—including a budget program for the national government, state budgets, efficiency through budget making, and budgets in European and typical American cities. The volume consists so largely of empirical results that it is of unusual value to governmental executives, as well as to students of governmental problems. In addition, it places in permanent form a miscellany of financial experience which heretofore has been inaccessible. It is to be hoped that this is only the beginning of a literature which will be of practical aid to public administrators. The only really serious omission is an outline of the budget plan proposed for New York City by the New York bureau of municipal research, and which was not prepared in time for publication. Also the budgetary means of popular control may have merited more extended consideration.

The discussion further exhibits the new and desirable attention which is now being given to the tools of government. Professor Hatton has summarized the value of this changing thought in a one page of foreword, and a more clear and concise definition of government and its purposes could not be desired. He concludes: "A new spirit in American politics is manifesting itself in the powerful movement for the reform of governmental organization and procedure in the interest of popular control and efficiency. . . . No single change would add so much to both democracy and efficiency as the introduction of proper budget methods. The papers in this volume are published in the hope that they may contribute in some degree to the progress of this fundamental reform."

LENT D. UPSON.

Dayton, Ohio.

CITY LIFE AND ITS AMELIORATION. By George Sharp. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 126 pp.

This is a pleasant essay dealing with the life and manners of city dwellers. The underlying thought is individualistic, the author maintaining that "the individual must be the unit of true fellowship, just as the threads must be new and strong

to insure strength in the fabric." His discussion of "the paradox of large personal liberty in a network of law" and of public manners and their annoyance are among the most interesting parts of the book, which is one of the "Present Day Problems Series." The writer does well to emphasize the need for an improvement in our habits and manners, but he is not altogether in touch, or at least he shows slight acquaintance, with modern municipal tendencies.

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American Women in Civic Work. By Helen Christine Bennett. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.

Miss Bennett has gathered into this volume an interesting group of papers which she has contributed to various magazines dealing with the personality of some of the women of America who have contributed to the development of its civic work. It is an interesting complement to Mrs. Beard's book on "Woman's Work for Municipalities."[1] Mrs. Beard deals with the facts and events; Miss Bennett with the personnel. A round dozen are treated, beginning with Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Kalamazoo, whose picture forms the frontispiece; Sophie Wright, of New Orleans; Jane Addams; Kate Barnard, of Oklahoma; Albion Fellows Bacon, of Indiana; Hannah Kent Schoff, of Philadelphia; Frances A. Kellor, of New York; Julia Tutwiler, of Alabama; Lucretia L. Blankenburg, of Philadelphia; Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and Ella Flagg Young, of Chicago.

II. BOOKS RECEIVED

Aristocracy and Justice. By Paul Elmer More. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. $1.25. Shelburne Essays, Ninth Series.

Bibliography of Municipal Government in the United States. By William Bennett Munro. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. $2.50.

Cities in Evolution. By Patrick Geddes. London: Williams & Norgate. 7s. 6d.

Cleveland Education Survey. Child Accounting in the Public Schools. By Leonard P. Ayres. Health Work in the Public Schools. By Leonard P. Ayres and May Ayres. What The Schools Teach and Might Teach. By Franklin Bobbitt. Cleveland, Ohio: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation.

Comparative Municipal Statistics, 1912–1913. Compiled by the London County Council. London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 5s.

Democracy in the Making. Ford Hall and the Open Forum Movement. Edited by George W. Coleman. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. $1.50.

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[1] See National Municipal Review, Vol. IV, p. 683.

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III. REVIEWS OF REPORTS

Recent Reports on Taxation and Finance.—In the field of finance the year under review has been one of slow, but steady progress. The creation of new state tax commissions, and the enlargement of the powers of those already existing have gone forward as rapidly as could reasonably be expected. The administration of state revenue laws, though leaving much to be desired, is unquestionably on a higher and more efficient plane in most states to-day than ever before in their history. The recent administrative reforms, which have resulted in the establishment of more than thirty state tax commissions with varying powers of control over local assessment, is nearing a double deadlock, however, due to the defects in tax systems and the unparalleled expansion of expenditures. Fur-

ther gains in the equity and efficiency of taxation are now dependent upon the modification of constitutions and tax laws; but the futility, not to say danger, of large additional expansion of revenues becomes apparent when one considers the appalling possibilities of wasteful and inefficient use of this money. It is distinctly encouraging, therefore, to note that in two directions some progress has been made by movements which aim at the correction of these defects. These movements are (1) the formation of state tax associations to study local financial problems; and (2) the creation of temporary and permanent commissions on efficiency and economy for the purpose of overhauling and standardizing public administration. These three movements are obviously complementary, and are all essential to any thorough financial reform. The soundest business principles must be observed in the appropriation and expenditure of the public money and the management of public affairs; the necessary revenue must be raised by the tax system that is most suitable to the economic interests of the community; and that tax system must be so administered that its burden will be equitably distributed upon all. We have put the cart before the horse in characteristic fashion, by creating state tax commissions with extensive powers over assessments, without making certain that the revenue system was itself equitable, or that the money would be efficiently and capably used.

The state associations, of which there are now at least half a dozen, represent the emergence of a new method of securing results—a method that is being applied with considerable success by some bureaus of municipal research. The distinguishing characteristic of the new plan is the realization that with the careful study of conditions as a prerequisite to the formulation of legislative proposals, there must be combined a thorough program of popular education upon these proposals in order to insure their enactment into laws. The old way, which was followed for a full generation in the field of tax reform, was to create a special commission, instruct it to study the tax system and report a plan for remedying the defects which it had discovered. The commission's work and responsibility ended with its report, and, if that report contained any new or striking suggestions, it was usually promptly pigeonholed on the ground that the people would not stand for such radical proposals. This was probably a valid objection in most cases, in view of the popular ignorance on financial subjects—an ignorance which was usually so dense that a single document, like the report of a special commission, however intrinsically illuminating, could not dispel it. The cause of rational tax reform has been greatly delayed by this failure to educate the constituency in advance of the proposals to be made. Because popular agitation and enlightenment are leading planks in their platforms, the state tax associations offer prospect of accomplishing in the end, something more than the consumption of printer's ink in the multiplication of special reports and bills destined for the legislative scrap-heap.

There have appeared during the past year, about the usual number of reports of special commissions, official and otherwise. A considerable proportion of the permanent tax commissions have issued regular annual or biennial reports, amply fortified with statistics in every case, but varying widely in the value of their discussion of achievements and problems. The mass of literature which has appeared may be classified, for the purposes of this review, as follows;

(1) The proceedings of the National tax association;

(2) The proceedings of various state and local tax conferences, and other publications of state tax associations;

(3) The reports of special commissions of investigation;

(4) The reports of the permanent state tax commissions;

(5) The reports of commissions on efficiency and economy.

The proceedings of the National tax association for 1914 have already been re-

viewed in several places,[1] and they will not, therefore, be fully covered in the present connection. This association has been of great service in stimulating interest in tax reform, and its annual seession has more than once been followed by legislative gains in the state in which the conference was held. As its title implies, however, the interests of the National tax association are nation-wide, and a deliberate effort has been made in recent years to extend both its programs and its influence to include problems of national as well as of state and local finance. Directly, it cannot in the nature of things be of as much influence in state and local affairs as the state associations; indirectly it can and doubtless will remain the chief stimulus and inspiration of those who are working for better conditions in various localities.

For those interested primarily in local finances the papers of greatest interest at the annual conference of 1914 will probably be those on the cost of government, and those on the experiences of the Canadian cities with the single tax. The former papers discuss the slackness that has commonly prevailed in financial administration, and present a strong case for greater efficiency in public administration, the application of business principles in spending the public money, and the development of sound budgetary methods. These criticisms and suggestions are quite as applicable, of course, to the administration of national, as of state and local finances: all of these units have been living, thus far, in financial glass houses, and it makes little difference where one begins to throw stones. The single tax session was largely occupied with papers on the Canadian situation, and the outcome of the discussion was a revelation of the weakness of the claims that have been advanced for the single tax as the source of the phenomenal prosperity and growth of the Canadian northwest. Those cities which had not yet adopted this tax have suffered less in the depression since 1912 than those which had adopted it. If the form of taxation has not produced the greater depression, there is considerable suspicion as to its contribution to the prosperity of the years preceding the depression.

The association has always endeavored to maintain a neutral position on all controverted topics, and in this it has succeeded fairly well. The presidential address of Professor Seligman raises one point, however, to which some objection may be made by those who wish to see American cities given greater freedom from state control and restrictions in their financial policy. This point, which was stated simply as a present-day tendency and not in any sense as a controversial issue, was the approval of the recent tendency toward administrative centralization. There is no disputing the facts; tax administration has unquestionably become more centralized. But the inference therefrom may not be altogether palatable to the ardent home rule advocate. Professor Seligman's inference was that this centralization was a good thing, that there ought to be more of it; in fact, that the national government ought to assume the administration of certain forms of taxation for state purposes, such as the taxation of incomes and interstate corporations. This can hardly be called an official policy of the association, but it is illustrative of the view of those now responsible for that policy. It raises some very interesting questions of practical politics, however, and suggests the need of a clearer demarkation of the spheres of state and local authority and responsibility in financial matters than has yet been made.

The state tax associations that have been formed work in different ways, and secure their publicity by somewhat different means. Two principal methods are observable—the first is an annual conference, the proceedings of which are widely circulated to taxpayers and officials; the second is the publication of a series of bulletins containing the results of special investigations. Perhaps a combination of

[1] National Tax Association, Papers and proceedings of the eighth annual conference, Denver, 1914. Reviewed by the present writer in *American Economic Review*, vol. v, pp. 371–372, June, 1915.

these methods would be most effective, but of the two the latter appears to offer an advantage. An obvious, but sometimes necessary caution, is that the leaders in such campaigns should be capable of a sane grasp of the financial problem in its more fundemantal aspects.

Two conferences on taxation were held in Indiana in 1914. The first was held in February at the state university, and a state tax association was organized.[1] This association held a second conference in December at Indianapolis.[2] The motive back of both conferences was the reform of the defective tax system. Indiana established the first of the modern state tax commissions in 1891, but that commission has never had the authority nor the capacity to prevent the continuance of rank inequalities in the distribution of the tax burden. The principal achievement of the new movement thus far has been to initiate discussion. The legislature has provided for a special commission of inquiry, with instructions to report at the next legislative session. Assisted by the state tax association, this commission may be able to formulate an acceptable reform program and secure its adoption.

The principal topic for discussion at the fourth annual conference of the Michigan tax association was the best means of reforming the general property[3] tax. Professor Friday of the University of Michigan advocated a centrally administered income tax modelled upon the Wisconsin measure; but the official approval of the conference was given instead to the taxation of intangibles at a low specific rate. The conference also endorsed the work of the board of state tax commissioners in its vigorous reassessment policy, and approved the suggestions of the latter for a state budget system and a separate assessment of lands and improvements.

[1] Proceedings of a conference on taxation in Indiana, held at Indiana University, Feb. 5–6, 1914.

[2] Proceedings of the second annual conference on taxation in Indiana, under the auspices of Indiana University and the State tax association, held at Indianopolis, Dec. 1–2, 1914.

[3] Proceedings of the fourth state conference on taxation, held at Detroit, Michigan, Jan. 28–29, 1915, by the Michigan state tax association.

The California state tax association has recently issued its first bulletins. This association was formed in 1913 to promote the interests of tax reform. Its "Report on the problem of high taxation in San Francisco"[4] is an especially valuable analysis of the most pressing problem now confronting most American municipalities. This report begins with the story of the phenomenal increase of municipal expenditures—a story of the increase, in fifteen years, of 165 per cent in expenditures as against 46 per cent increase in population. In 1912 the per capita tax was $24.14; the average per capita tax of Cleveland, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo and Milwaukee was said to be only $19.47. The sources of revenue are the general property tax and various miscellaneous revenues and the distribution of receipts from these sources is worth noting:

	Per cent of total revenue in	
Source of revenue	1900–01	1914–15
Real estate	53.0	70.7
Personal property	22.3	10.8
Other sources	24.7	18.5

These figures reveal one source of the difficulty. The progressive withdrawal of personal property has caused a steady shift of the tax burden to real estate. Undervaluation is practiced for both real and personal property, and the unsupervised local administration serves only as the cloak for serious abuses of assessment. Separation of the sources of state and local revenues has eliminated neither competitive undervaluation nor the need of thorough central control of the local assessment.

The city's budget methods are criticized as "inexact, unscientific and ten years behind the times." The data on which expenses are estimated are of the roughest and crudest sort, often padded atrociously in anticipation of horizontal cuts. The classification is extremely inadequate—$4,300,000 was authorized in 1913–14 in unsegregated, unclassified items arbitrarily fixed by the finance com-

[4] The problem of high taxes in San Francisco, June, 1915, issued by the California state tax association.

mittee. Supplies for the city are costing excessively for want of a central purchasing agency; the civil service is unstandardized; and various departments are inefficiently organized. The association recommends the establishment of a bureau of municipal research to begin at once a thorough investigation and reform of the city's housekeeping.

The whole system of state taxation was attacked in a second bulletin on the "Problem of Taxation in California."[1]

The separation of the sources of state and local revenue was the principal topic of discussion at the conference to consider the question of tax reform, held at Richmond, Virginia, in 1914.[2] The failure of the moderate recommendations of the Virginia special tax commission of 1911 blocked the chances of immediate reform. In the Richmond conference Professor T. S. Adams of the Wisconsin tax commission advised against complete separation, but it was evident that the local sentiment was rather strongly predisposed in favor of a reform program along this line. It was generally agreed, however, that the primary requisite to intelligent tax reform in Virginia was a more thorough investigation than had been made in 1911, and a very carefully engineered plan of popular education on the subject. The conference recommended the establishment of a special commission of inquiry the report of which has already been noticed in these columns.[3]

The acute financial embarrassment of many Ohio cities was the principal motive for the Ohio state tax conference, held in Columbus in February, 1915.[4] This conference was not particularly well organized, and much time was spent in loose discussion of hasty and extemporaneous propositions for reform. The most significant fact that was brought out *apropos* of the original motive for the conference was the immense surplus which had been accumulated in the state treasury, while the cities had been compelled to meet current expenses by loans or to postpone them by resorting to various desperate expedients. The significance of this situation entirely escaped the conference, and the introduction of the single tax prevented any further sensible discussion of practical measures. A meaningless resolution in favor of tax reform was adopted.

The conference on taxation at Seattle, Washington, in 1914 has already been reviewed, as have some recent bulletins of the South Dakota state tax association.[5]

There is no state tax association in New York, but annual conferences have been held for some years under the leadership of the state board of tax commissioners. These conferences have been composed principally of taxing officials and the topics discussed at the conference of 1914 may be indicated from the resolutions adopted.[6] These covered the following points;

(1) The taxation of tangible personal property in the district of permanent use or location, instead of at the domicile of the owner.

(2) A reform of the methods of taxing corporations.

(3) An extension of the powers of the board of tax commissioners to include greater authority over the local assessors, and especially to order reassessments in any tax district.

Special Tax Commissions. Illinois had provided a special tax commission which reported in 1910, but its recommendations were entirely unheeded until 1915, when a constitutional amendment to permit the classification of personal property was submitted to be voted on in 1916. The legislative committee on efficiency and economy published a report on taxation and financial administration in 1914, in which the tax situation was again thoroughly covered and the earlier recommen-

[1] The problem of taxation in California, February, 1915, issued by the California state tax association.

[2] Proceedings of a Conference held to consider the question of tax reform, Richmond, Virginia, Jan. 20–21, 1914.

[3] Cf. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, p. 526.

[4] State conference on taxation, held at Columbus, Ohio, Feb., 1915, under the auspices of the league of Ohio municipalities.

[5] Cf. NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 149–150.

[6] Proceedings of the fourth state conference on taxation, Syracuse, New York, Jan. 21–23, 1914.

dations were renewed.[1] The report contains a description of the machinery of financial administration, with sections comparing the practice in Illinois with that in other states and countries. Much of the material had already been published in the report of 1910. The recommendations go farther, however, than those of the earlier report. They propose the establishment of a state finance commission, which shall exercise the control over the revenue system which is usually possessed by a state tax commission, and in addition shall supervise the state's budget policy and accounting methods. There is little prospect, however, that Illinois is ready to commit herself yet to the suggestions of the report. On the side of administrative reform, the committee further recommended that counties be allowed, and encouraged, to substitute the county for the township as the assessment unit. Some improvements in the collection of taxes were proposed, such as the reduction of collectors' commissions and various abatements, the saving from which was estimated at $550,000 for the state, and $1,000,000 for the localities.

Two other states took the initial step toward tax reform during the past year, by providing special commissions of investigation. The Nebraska commission made a thorough analysis of the state tax system, and recommended a general revision both of the form of taxation and the method of administration.[2] The suggested changes of form were adapted to the amendment providing for classification which was submitted to the people in 1914. This amendment failed, an indication that the preliminary groundwork of popular education and agitation on the subject had not been sufficiently thorough, but the commission's constructive proposals are still *apropos*. The most important recommendation was for the creation of a permanent state tax commission with supervisory control over the local assessment, the adoption of the county as the assessment unit in charge of a county assessor, and the listing of all property at full value. Various changes were also suggested in the methods of taxing corporations.

The Tennessee special tax commission[3] did not publish the detailed results of its analysis of the revenue system, but it reached the same conclusions as the Nebraska commission—the breakdown of local administration and the need of central control. Again the leading recommendation was for a central state tax commission, with power to suspend assessors and to appoint, temporarily, their successors. The commission should also perform the duties of the board of equalization. The proposal for an income tax of 10 per cent on bonds, notes and mortgages, plus a registration tax of one tenth per cent on the face value cannot be accepted as a satisfactory substitute for the present situation with regard to intangibles. The administrative features of the bill which the commission prepared were influenced by the recommendations of the Public Efficiency League of Knoxville for a state assessment of all property on the Ohio plan of 1913.

The problem of real estate assessment in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was studied by a committee which investigated various methods now in use for that purpose.[4] The Somers system was carefully considered but was not adopted because of the doubtful character of the corner lot tables, the only feature of the system that any city is not free to use without cost. The committee recommended that the city undertake the development of the necessary technique and standards of sound real estate assessment, and especially by adopting the following suggestions:

(1) That the office of assessor be made appointive;

(2) That equalization maps be provided;

[1] A Report on Revenue and Finance Administration, by John A. Fairlie, prepared for the efficiency and economy committee of the 48th General Assembly of Illinois. 1914.

[2] Report of the special commission on revenue and taxation, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1914.

[3] Report of the committee to investigate assessment and taxation in the State of Tennessee, 1915.

[4] Report of the special committee on the study of local real estate assessment situation, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1915.

(3) That a civil engineer be employed to prepare mathematical rules and tables for the valuation of real estate in Cambridge, after a careful study of the systems used in various cities. The methods used in Baltimore met with particular approval.

Permanent State Tax Commissions. The number of permanent state tax commissions has increased so rapidly in recent years that it will be impossible for lack of space to review adequately all of the reports that have appeared. Attention will therefore be confined to the most significant achievements and recommendations for further improvement. The reports that have come to hand will be discussed by geographical sections.

In those from the New England states the principal topic discussed was the means of securing better local assessments and more equitable equalization of the tax burden. These commissions do not possess as extensive control over the local assessments as some of the commissions in other sections. The Rhode Island commission asked for authority to make a state equalization,[1] and the Massachusetts tax commissioner recommended that he be authorized to install the Wisconsin plan of real estate equalization. There is general need of tax maps for both rural and urban districts. The recent resort to a direct state tax in Connecticut has stimulated local competitive undervaluation, and the tax commissioner recommends that immediate attention be given to the proposals of the special commission of 1913 for more effective taxation of corporations in order to keep down the state tax.[2] In Rhode Island the intangibles returned in 1914 under the plan of classification almost equalled the aggregate of personalty in 1910. The Massachusetts commissioner approved the principle of the recent tax on stock transfers, but asked for various amendments to improve administrative features. The bond registration fee was also approved, but it was recommended that the receipts be paid to the state instead of being divided with the localities in which the holders resided, since the holders who registered the bonds were frequently not the real owners. The adoption of the pending income tax amendment was strongly urged.

The principal suggestion from the New Hampshire tax commission[3] was for an extension of the assessor's term to three years, and for some check upon the freedom of the localities in granting tax exemptions to manufacturers. Towns are now competing with each other for prosperous manufacturing establishments by offering tax exemptions, and the resulting situation might profitably be studied by the advocates of unrestricted home rule in taxation.

The chief improvements in New Jersey[4] during the past year were the progress in the construction of tax maps, the separation of lands and improvements on the assessment rolls, and the taxation of bank stock at its actual value instead of at owner's declaration. The assessment of bank stock was increased from $9.7 millions in 1913 to $94.2 millions in 1914. The deduction of debts was restricted to the assessment of intangible personalty.

The report of the New York Board of state tax commissioners was almost entirely statistical.

The year under review has been one of considerable progress for the states of the middle west. The Ohio experiment with a complete state assessment was short-lived, but the result of the one assessment made under the absolute control of the tax commission revealed the impossibility of listing all intangibles for taxation under the uniform rule.[5] The commission's suggestion—not an official recommendation—for reaching intangibles is by acquiring the right of access to the books of banks and financial institutions. The absurdity of this device is self-evident.

[1] Second annual report, Rhode Island tax commission, 1914.

[2] Report of the tax commissioner for the biennial period 1913–1914, Hartford, 1914.

[3] Fourth annual report of the New Hampshire state tax commission, Concord, 1914.

[4] Report of the New Jersey board of equalization, Trenton, 1914

[5] Fifth annual report of the Ohio tax commission, Columbus, 1914.

There is no prospect of breaking with the general property tax and the last legislature reverted to the plan of locally elected assessors. The tax limit law has caused severe embarrassment to many cities and the commission recommends greater elasticity in the limits imposed, with central control of the tax rates, a proposal the full meaning of which is not entirely clear.

In Michigan the tax commission has been proceeding vigorously with the task of increasing assessments to full value through the exercise of its powers of review and reassessment.[1] The people are tolerating, and even demanding this heroic treatment, which offers some prospect of securing a permanent advance in the basis of assessment because of the three-year rule, *i.e.*, that assessments established by the commission may not be reduced for three years unless good cause be shown. The commission's action has not, of course, secured adequate assessment of intangibles, the proper taxation of which is becoming an important issue in the state. It is recommended that the data on railroad valuation be revised in order to bring the railroads up to the level of the property with which the commission has been dealing in its reviews and reassessments.

The Wisconsin tax commission[2] has wisely kept its railroad survey up to date, and is now making perhaps the most careful *ad valorem* assessment of railroads in the United States. The principal topic of interest in this commission's report is the discussion of the income tax. Despite certain defects in the plan of collection and in other minor details, this tax continues to be successful, both in the returns and in the economy of operation. The long period during which the Wisconsin demonstrated its capacity for efficient administration has been an important factor in this success, and other states might encounter more difficulty in installing a state assessment of incomes without such a background of experience with central administration.

The Minnesota experience with a three-mill tax on intangibles has been an interesting revelation of the need of central supervision of even nominal taxes.[3] Reassessment of moneys and credits was ordered in 239 tax districts in 1913, the combined result of which was an increase of 184 per cent in the number of persons assessed, and of 166 per cent in the volume of moneys and credits listed. The progress already attained, however, represents an immense gain over the taxation of such property under the uniform rule. A general system of classification was put into effect in 1914. Both Minnesota and Michigan have handled the problem of mine assessment in a very satisfactory fashion.[4]

The report of the West Virginia tax commissioner contains little discussion of interest. The reports from Indiana and Texas contain some interesting evidence of the inequality of assessment and the evasion of all forms of personal property. The Texas tax commissioner recommends classification and a strong tax commission; but the Indiana board of tax commissioners has not yet been able to formulate a platform of tax reform, and the new state tax association has been organized for the purpose of developing a satisfactory program.

In Kansas the tax commission renews its warnings against increased local expenditures, and its recommendations for a revision of the tax system.[5] This commission has secured about as efficient results as are possible under the general property tax; and the next step must be some modification of that system. One amendment for classification has been defeated, possibly because of the inclusion, by the legislature, of provisions for income and occupation taxes. The commission

[1] Eighth Report of the Board of state tax commissioners, Lansing, 1914.

[2] Seventh biennial report, Wisconsin tax commission, Madison, 1914. Chapter V contains valuable data on the distribution of incomes by amounts and occupation groups.

[3] Fourth biennial report, Minnesota tax commission, St. Paul, 1914.

[4] Cf. Uglow, A study of the methods of mine valuation and assessment, Madison, 1914.

[5] Fourth report to the Legislature of the Tax commission of Kansas, Topeka, 1914; also, Fourth report of the Tax commission, 1914.

is now offering another amendment similar to the model recommended by the National Tax Association. It is estimated that only about one fourth of the mortgages are being listed, after eight years of able central supervision of assessments, with especial attention to mortgage taxation.

Of the western states in which the tax administration has been reformed, the recent experiences of Arizona [1] and Colorado [2] are most interesting. In both of these states the commission made sweeping advances in local assessment under their powers of equalization and supervision, but in the face of very strenuous opposition. In Colorado the commission added $321.5 millions in two years, actions which were fully sustained by the courts. The Arizona commission reports that public sentiment is rapidly veering to a friendly quarter as the benefits of more equitable taxation become generally appreciated. The legislature is no longer hampered by the uniform rule, but it has been unable to agree upon a substitute. The central issue in Arizona, however, is the proper taxation of mines, and upon this question, unfortunately, the commission itself is divided.

The tax commissions of North Dakota [3] and Montana [4] give their principal attention to the further changes and improvements that are needed in the tax laws. Both commissions recommend stronger central control, especially over the processes of local assessment and equalization. The North Dakota commission would provide for an appointive county assessor, the appointment to be made by the tax commission under civil service rules, with the approval of the county commissioners. A thorough revision of the methods of taxing corporations was urged, and data were presented to show the inadequate taxation of railroads and of corporate excess. The report contains a valuable chapter on the cost of government in North Dakota. In Montana the principal need was said to be a more adequate equalization of assessments. It is suggested that this be accomplished by giving the tax commission power to correct assessments, as has been done in Colorado. Full value assessments are not desired until the tax rates have been limited.

The Washington state tax commission [5] again recommends a constitutional amendment permitting a more liberal tax system. Until such action is taken the commission will hardly be able to effect any very great additional improvements in tax administration. The report of the Wyoming tax commissioner is entirely statistical.[6] The California state board of equalization [7] discusses the various possibilities of increasing the state revenue, but offers no specific recommendations as to which should be chosen. This board is still struggling with the problems of franchise assessment, a task which was quite evidently underestimated by the revenue commission of 1906.

Efficiency and Economy Commissions. No review will be attempted here of the formidable reports that have been received from the commissions on efficiency and economy. The report of the Illinois commission contains a review and analysis of all of the reports that have appeared from such commissions to the present,[8] and to this the reader is referred. The significance of this attempt to standardize the public business has already been suggested. It remains only to suggest further that some care should be taken to secure the full advantage from these investigations. The history of the special tax commissions during the past forty years is not over-encouraging. Too often their reports saw the light of day

[1] Second biennial report of the Arizona tax commission, Phoenix, 1914.

[2] Third annual report, Colorado tax commission, Denver, 1914.

[3] Second biennial report of the North Dakota tax commission, Bismarck, 1914.

[4] First biennial report, Montana tax commission, Helena, 1914.

[5] Fifth biennial report of the Washington state board of tax commissioners, Olympia, 1914.

[6] Third biennial report of the State tax commissioner of Wyoming, Cheyenne, 1914.

[7] Biennial report of the State board of equalization, Sacramento, 1914.

[8] Cf. Report of the Illinois committee on efficiency and economy, 1915, pp. 975–998. Bibliography on p. 998.

only in their brief journey from printing press to legislative wastebasket. The state tax associations offer a favorable opportunity for securing some attention to these reports, and it is to be hoped that they will not fail to take advantage of it.

Mention may also be made of two reports just received on the exemption of improvements from taxation prepared by Robert M. Haig of Columbia University for the Committee on taxation of the City of New York.[1]

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Report of the Boston Budget Commission.—The report of the Boston budget commission is a valuable contribution to the general subject of municipal finance, and will prove to be of great assistance in the solution of Boston's peculiar financial problems. The task of the commission called for long and arduous labor in sifting out a multitude of details, and for the nicest discrimination in fitting general principles of budget-making to the special needs of the city and the requirements of the city charter.

Boston has been operating under the lump sum system of appropriations since its creation as a city in 1822 and the demand for some system of segregation became so general that the commission was created to ascertain the applicability of such a system to the present framework of government. The extreme type of segregated budget would seem to be inconsistent with the fundamental theory of a city charter, which, like that of Boston, vests the complete responsibility for the executive work in a single officer, the mayor, who is responsible to the entire electorate for the use or misuse of the moneys voted by the city council. The theory of the responsible executive type of city charter does not, however, seem to the commission as in any manner inconsistent with a greater degree of segregation in estimates, recommendations and appropriations than is provided by the system of lump sum appropriations now in use in the city; and bearing in mind the advantages of such a system, if not carried too far, the commission has recommended, and the council and mayor have accepted, a system which it is believed will accomplish all the good fairly to be expected from the more complicated forms, and which avoids the evils, theoretical and practical, to be found in these.

The plan devised by the commission consists first, of a set of estimate sheets; secondly, of a revised appropriation order with an accompanying set of budget sheets, which latter are a condensation of the estimates; and thirdly, of a revised form of monthly statements and physical inventories to be submitted by the departments.

The estimate sheets are three in number. These are, first, a general item sheet for each department and division, with one column for a printed list of groups and items, and seven double columns for figures showing for each item the actual expenditures during the preceding two fiscal years, the expenditure during the current fiscal year, the request of the department for the ensuing year, the amount allowed by the mayor, the amount voted by the city council, and the amount approved by the mayor which constitutes the final appropriation. This sheet contains in detail, and arranged in groups, all the items, except those for personal service, and for expenditures for contracts from taxes. The groups are: 1. Personal service (summary). 2. Service other than personal. 3. Equipment. 4. Supplies. 5. Materials. 6. Special items, such as interest, taxes, pensions, contracts, etc. 7. Unforeseen expenditures. The items of personal service, meaning salaries and wages, are to be entered upon a separate sheet entitled "Schedule A," with columns similar to those in the general item sheet. The third sheet, entitled "Schedule B," relates to items involving expenditures from taxes for contract work of a large nature. The general item sheet will

[1] The Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in Canada and the United States; and Some Probable Effects of the Exemption of Improvements from Taxation in New York City.

contain in the first column a printed list of about one hundred items arranged in the seven groups mentioned. The other two sheets will be printed with blank columns as the items differ for each department and division. These estimate sheets will measure not more than seventeen inches square and will be smaller than those in use by most of the larger cities in the country.

The budget sheets consist of a condensation of the estimate sheets and are arranged by departments and divisions. These are bound up with the message of the mayor, and the letters of the department heads, the whole constituting a work-plan for the year. To this is added the financial tables of the city auditor, and such other information needed for the consideration of the council. The commission estimates that the total budget for all city and county departments will not exceed three thousand items, which will make it one of the smallest of the budgets now considered by American cities of the size of Boston, and yet furnish the mayor, the city council and citizens at large with all the information capable of being stated in tabular form which they can reasonably desire for the consideration of the annual appropriations.

In most budgets there is a column for increases or decreases in the amounts requested by the departments as compared with the expenditures for previous years. These columns are omitted as unnecessary, for a glance at the sheet will indicate such changes. Some budgets have a column for unit costs, but in the opinion of the commission this is not the place for exhibiting such costs. Such calculations should appear in the annual department reports or supplementary statements. Some budgets include a column for inventories of stock or other property on hand. This also represents an unprofitable attempt at refinement and should appear as provided by the commission on separate report sheets submitted by the departments at stated times.

The main reason, however, why the form of budget recommended by the commission is so much smaller than the extreme segregated type is that it has deliberately rejected all attempt at what is somewhat loosely termed the "functional" classification of items. There is nothing to be gained in forcing all the departments to adopt a method of classification which is more or less artificial in nature and which leads to a budget of prohibitive length.

The system of estimates and budget which is recommended by the commission may be thought by some to be a compromise between the extreme segregated type and the lump sum system. Such is not the view of the commission. This system is, for the conditions under the charter, superior to any in use elsewhere. It is a simple system, readily understood and inexpensive to put and keep in operation. The entire budget can be printed in a relatively small compass. It will show with sufficient exactness and detail what has been spent and what is to be spent by the different departments for the various purposes of the government. It will in particular disclose the exact number of employes which each department is entitled to carry on its payroll, and the maximum compensation which can lawfully be paid to each. It will disclose just what increases each department requests over the corresponding expenditures of the three preceding years; just what items the mayor recommends for reduction or excision, and just what action the city council takes in these particulars. And it will not interfere with the charter provisions concentrating responsibility for the executive business in the several departments under the direction of the mayor. It will encourage publicity, and tend to fix the responsibility for expenditure.

The commission assumes that the city auditor and the mayor will not use the power to make transfers given them in the charter other than as a valuable aid for sound administration. Any form of budget might be defeated by ill-considered or harmful transfers between the different groups of appropriations.

The establishment of monthly reports showing the balance of each item appropriated, and of stated physical inventories showing equipment, supplies and materials on hand, gives a cross check between the books and storehouses of the departments and the books of the city auditor, which will make for efficiency and prevent overdrafts on any item or in any group of the appropriation.

The report of the commission has been received with much favorable comment and is being enthusiastically supported by all the municipal organizations, officials, and by the press. The most gratifying parts of the report are that the sole power of originating the budget is left with the mayor as provided in the charter; the power of transfer remains with the mayor and city auditor as provided in the charter; the extreme form of classification and functionalization has been rejected because it defeats its own purpose and makes a less rather than more intelligent outline of appropriations and expenditures; and the whole system will adjust itself to the present organization of the departments, their system of reports, records, organization, and procedure, requiring practically no added expenditure for installation and maintenance.

The commission consisted of Ex-mayor Nathan Matthews, chairman; John J. Martin, vice-chairman; William B. Munro; Thomas J. Kenny; and Mark Temple Dowling; with Edwin A. Cottrell, Secretary.

EDWIN A. COTTRELL.[1]

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"Efficiency first" was formally adopted as the slogan of the sixth annual conference of mayors and other city officials of the state of New York. The conference was held in Troy, the first three days in June, and was represented by delegates from fifty-four cities. The program contained a symposium on the municipal progress of the past year, and discussed many of the problems which had confronted public administration. In addition to this informal program, a number of papers were presented, among the speakers being Henry Bruère, chamberlain, city of New York; Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, New York State commissioner of health; Harry Olson, chief justice, Chicago Municipal Court; William A. Prendergast, comptroller, City of New York; and others of authority in the field of municipal administration.

For the first time since its organization, the conference discussed municipal finance, and a committee with Edward L. Osborne, controller of Rochester, and president of the National association of controllers and accounting officers, as chairman, was appointed to co-operate with the state controller in his efforts toward the introduction of scientific accounting, reporting and budget methods.

The most important result of the conference was the establishment of a state bureau of municipal information, which has been projected for some four years.[1]

The proceedings of the conference have been printed, including the informal discussion as well as the formal papers which were presented. Copies are free to public organizations, and to others a charge of one dollar is made. The secretary is Mr. Capes.

The conference is an example of the interest which will be taken by local officers in a program which has some value for them, and of the enthusiasm, co-operation, and progress which can result. Secretaries of state municipal leagues and of mayors' associations might take notice.

LENT D. UPSON.[2]

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Housing in Philadelphia.[3]—This report brings out striking facts, many of which are painful, but it is in no sense a muck-raking production. It is a careful diagnosis of Philadelphia's housing ills, based on a detailed investigation of

[1] Instructor in Government, Wellesley College.

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. v, p. 70.

[2] National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio.

[3] A Study of the Housing and Social Conditions in Selected Districts of Philadelphia. Eleventh Report of the Henry Phipps nstitute. By Frank A. Craig, M.D.

1,003 houses and 5,812 persons living in these.

Workers of the social service department of the Phipps institute and a colored worker supplied by the Whittier centre, under the direction of Miss Lucinda Nelson Stringer, made the inspections of the houses and obtained the information in regard to the families. The areas studied were Russian, Jewish, Italian and negro sections in the older part of the city and in comparison with these the homes of institute patients.

Some popular fallacies are overthrown by the report and some interesting racial characteristics are shown. "The largest section of the people are those of cleanly habits, living in bad houses." "The negroes show by far the best conditions, with 96 per cent of clean houses." "The most striking feature of the entire investigation from the standpoint of race was the remarkable degree of cleanliness in the homes of the negroes." "The worst conditions were found among the Jewish people, one fifth of whom (20.6 per cent) were living in dirty homes." "In the Jewish district the large houses with a great many rooms (as high as 24 rooms) occurred more frequently than in the other districts."

This contrast of habits seems a natural result of domestic service of the negroes and previous ghetto life of the Jews. Other differences are not so easy to explain.

"The negro district" is "in by far the best condition as regards crowding" per room, "and the Italian is the worst." "A relatively small proportion of children is found among the negroes."

"The large proportion of Italian house owners (14.06 per cent)" is "in striking contrast to the condition among the negroes, where only 1.44 per cent were found owning their homes. Even the Jews showed nowhere near the same proportion of house owners as the Italians."

That negroes but recently emancipated from slavery should be improvident is to be expected, but why should Italians be home-owners more frequently than Jews?

The analysis of rents confirms only in part the common impression as to the exploitation of negroes in this respect. "Notwithstanding the very inferior housing" the negroes "have been shown to receive their rates are distinctly higher than the other two groups as soon as their apartments exceed three rooms"; yet, "the rate for single rooms is not nearly so high as among either the Italians or the Jews."

Of the negroes 39.7 per cent were found to be living in houses graded at zero, meaning that they were considered unfit to live in. "This very striking deviation from the average can have but one explanation that is at all satisfactory, and that is that no houses are open to the negro except the poorest, and after they are once occupied by negroes, no effort is made on the part of the owner to keep the property in repair."

In speaking of the immigrants Doctor Craig says:

"It is certainly very suggestive that *69.5 per cent of the foreign born patients*" of the institute, "*developed their disease within ten years of their arrival in this country.*"

He thinks this an indication "that the changed conditions under which they were forced to live and work in this country did have some relation to the development of the disease."

Housing in the part of "the city of homes" covered by the investigation is by no means satisfactory.

"The districts were selected because they were considered average, typical blocks of the races living in that portion of the city." But over 18 per cent of all the houses inspected were found to be unfit for habitation. The houses on the rear lots were especially bad. Of the dwellings examined about one in six faced on an alley or back yard.

"The alleys are frequent sources of bad housing conditions. Narrow, dark, usually damp, and without a proper air supply, they have no redeeming features to recommend them except the saving of space."

Though the law prohibits the continuance of a yard vault in Philadelphia on any plot of ground where there is a sewer adjoining, the investigation showed

252 of these filthy, antiquated appliances maintained illegally in the districts examined. The frequent complaints as to these were said to be the one feature which stood out especially in the list of nuisances.

Less than one fourth of the apartments studied had indoor toilet facilities and less than half had separate toilets, not shared with other apartments.

About three fifths of the families were "dependent upon a water supply in the yard, which in many instances means carrying water for every purpose up two or three flights of stairs." "Among the thirteen hundred and odd apartments there were found only 247 bath tubs."

The third largest municipality of the United States with all the smoke and dust and grime of a great city does not seem to make cleanliness easy for its poorer inhabitants in its older congested districts, nor does it appear to give all the help it might to their efforts to maintain health and decency. "It is astonishing that the confines of the home, the fundamental basis of our entire social structure, should not receive more widespread attention—nearly all the activity in the direction of discussing the proper regulations being left in the hands of a few individuals. If this is due to lack of knowledge, there is opportunity for a vigorous educational campaign."

EMILY WAYLAND DINWIDDIE.

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Texas Cities.—The July number of *Texas Municipalities*, which is the quarterly publication of the League of Texas Municipalities, contains three articles of interest to the students of Municipal government. The first is a review of "Texas legislation of 1915 affecting municipalities" by J. F. Marron. The second is an exposition of "The Sherman charter" which provides a "Council-commissioner-manager plan" (to quote the charter definition itself). This hybrid is one of the most remarkable products of recent municipal charter making. It retains the mayor and council and combines with it a powerful commission of three elected by the council and vested with all legislative power. The commission, in turn, selects the city manager; the latter, however, being responsible both to the commission and to the council. The mayor retains many functions of importance and is, *ex-officio*, one of the commission, though the appointing power is vested in the city manager. In the words of Messrs. R. L. Hall and F. M. Stewart, the authors of the article, "the charter defies complete comparison with any of the three types of municipal government. It is *sui generis*."

The third article is a compilation by Mr. E. T. Paxton of "Facts from the 1914 tax roll" of a number of Texas cities. It will interest students of municipal taxation. The fluctuations in the personal property assessment are noticeable. For example Temple in Bell county with 10,993 population returns but $450,000 worth of personal property and over seven million dollars valuation of real property. San Angelo in Tom Green county has little more than half the real valuation of Temple, but it returns six times the personal property valuation. Eight cities of smaller population exceed Temple's personal property valuation by from one and one-half to five and one-half times. Temple's real property valuation, on the other hand, is much larger than that of any other city under 20,000 inhabitants. There is a variation of assessed valuations placed upon improvements,—Houston being the lowest with assessments based upon 25 per centum of the value. In Port Arthur real estate is assessed at 100 per centum of its value, while in other cities the assessed valuation is much lower. It is noted in the Houston report that the plan of taxing land at a much higher rate than improvements has been estopped by court order with respect to the assessments of 1915.

Recent bulletins of the municipal research series issued by the University of Texas include "A model health code for Texas cities," by R. M. Jameson, "Street paving in Texas," by E. T. Paxton, "Public service rates in Texas cities," by E. T. Paxton, and "University training for municipal administration," by Herman G. James.

"Foreign Food Prices as Affected by the War" is the title of a most illuminating monograph put out by the federal bureau of labor statistics. The facts in the report are based principally upon data furnished through the consular service. The bulletin is of like value to those interested in food costs and in the effects of the war. Thus while comparison of prices between different countries are admittedly untrustworthy, certain facts as to the effect of the war upon different localities in the same country seem definite and significant as evidenced by the following quotation: "In France the best sugar-beet fields lie in the northern parts, which were early invaded by the Germans and the price of sugar rose considerably. Germany and Russia are sugar exporting countries, and in Berlin and Moscow sugar shows no change in price. England imports its whole supply, and in London the price has risen 70 per cent. Turkey usually imports her sugar from Russia and from Austria. The Russian supply was shut off altogether when Turkey entered the war, and the Austrian supply was reduced to what could be brought through by rail—a very uncertain dependence. Apparently Greece was likely to undergo a similar experience, for though at Athens sugar had risen only 30 per cent, in Saloniki at the same date it had increased in price 150 per cent."

CLYDE LYNDON KING.

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Publications on County Government.[1]—"The Government of Hudson County, N. J.," by Earl Willis Crecraft, M. A., published privately by the author.

"The Government of Nassau County, N. Y.," prepared for the Commission on the government of Nassau County by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

"County Government in New York," prepared for the New York Constitutional Convention mainly by the New York State Constitutional Convention Committee.

To the lay reader, Mr. Crecraft's book on Hudson county is the best and the most readable. The author goes through that county with a fine-tooth comb, analyzing the work of all the offices both as to their legal concept and their actual practical working.

That county government in this country is illogically organized has been increasingly evident in the light of the success which our cities are having in developing unified, strong governments. How the illogical, ramshackle organization of the county leads to needless friction, waste of money, overlapping of authority and general inefficiency, is described in minute detail and in a thoroughly scientific spirit. There are many circumstantial little stories of how county officials, safely enshrouded in the obscurity that is always characteristic of county government, flout the interests of the public with impunity. Mr. Crecraft obtained his data while serving as secretary of the citizens federation which is one of only three effective organizations in the country devoted to the study of county affairs.

The documents on the government of Nassau county is typical of surveys by the bureaus of municipal research, the analysis being along financial rather than political lines, illustrated with diagrams of every department. They offer no appraisal or criticism. As technical handbooks they are highly valuable for the purposes of that handful of close students of county government who are now beginning to plow virgin soil with their projects of reform in counties.

The volume on "County Government in New York" contains a critical survey of Westchester county, prepared by the Westchester county research bureau, the papers that were read at the Schenectady conference for better county government in 1914 and a vast, but rather meaningless, collection of county financial figures supplied by the state comptroller of New York.

RICHARD S. CHILDS.

[1] An interesting study of county government in New York City was made by Henry Bruere and Leonard M. Wallstein for presentation to the New York constitutional convention. There was also a report on county goverment in Illinois by John A. Fairlie, made in 1913.—*C. R. W.*

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Adoption of Proportional Representation by Ashtabula, O. Alternative forms of the Hare Rules. Prof. C. Dupriez on Proportional Representation for cities.

HATTON, (AUGUSTUS R.). Making minorities count. (The New Republic, Nov. 27, 1915: 96–98.)

Analysis of the Ashtabula election.

NATIONAL SHORT BALLOT ASSOC. The Short Ballot Bulletin, vol. 3, no. 5, Oct., 1915. The "Ashtabula Plan." 8 pp.

Electric Installation

PORTLAND (OREG.). Electrical code. 1915. 216 pp., nar. 12°.

Ordinance no. 30205 regulating installation and operation of electric wires, appliances and apparatus in and about buildings of Portland.

Employment Bureaus

SEARS (WALTER LINCOLN). "Administration of public employment bureaus." Sept. 2, 1915. 15 pp.

Mr. Sears is superintendent of the Public Employment Bureau of the City of New York, Lafayette and Leonard streets, New York City. The report is sold for 10 cents a copy.

Excess Condemnation

NEW YORK CITY. COMMITTEE ON TAXATION. Excess condemnation. A report of the Committee on Taxation with a report prepared by Herbert S. Swan for the National Municipal League. 1915. 122 pp., illus., plans. 4°.

Mr. Swan's report covers pp. 9–122.

Exhibits

Budget; see Municipal Exhibits

Explosives

NEW YORK CITY. FIRE DEPARTMENT. Extracts from chap. 10 of the code of ordinances of the city of New York relating to explosives and ammunition. 1915. 31 pp., obl. 8°.

Finance

BOWES (J. H.). Municipal finance. (Canadian Municipal Jour., Nov., 1915: 390–391.)

Mr. Bowes is city solicitor of Chilliwack, B. C.

BRADSHAW (THOMAS). Some notes on municipal finance. 16 pp.

Address before the 17th annual meeting of the Ontario Municipal Association, Sept. 2, 1915. Mr. Bradshaw is of Messrs. A. E. Ames & Co., Toronto.

TORONTO, ONT.

BRITTAIN (HORACE L.). The movement for improved financing and accounting practice in Toronto. (Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science. Annals, Nov., 1915: 211–222.)

BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL RESEARCH, AKRON, O. Bull. no. 1. A report on a study of some aspects of the financial condition of Akron, Ohio. August 17, 1915. 31 pp.

ROMPEL (DR.). Städtische Finanzen vor dem Kriege. (Finanz-Archiv. Jahrg. 32, v. 2, 1915: 339–362.)

The author considers the budgets of the six largest Prussian cities, viz., Berlin, the empire's capital (pop. 2,072,000), the metropolis of the west, Cologne (pop. 554,000), Breslau, the largest city of eastern Prussia (pop. 544,000), the wealthy city of Frankfurt a. M. (pop. 447,000), the industrial city of Düsseldorf (pop. 415,000), and Charlottenburg, a prosperous suburb of Berlin (pop. 328,000). In addition, the budget of Bavaria's capital, Munich (pop. 640,000), and that of the largest city of Saxony, Leipzig (pop. 623,000), are described.

SWAN (HERBERT S.). Sources of [city] revenue. (Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science. Annals, Nov., 1915: 125–135.)

NEW YORK CITY

ELLISON (WILLIAM B.). Financial problems of the City of New York. 12 pp., obl. 12°.

SOCIETY FOR PREVENTION OF MUNICIPAL WASTE. Statement concerning financial problems of New York City. Issued Nov. 20, 1915.

Separate copy not seen. Printed with some omissions in the Evening Post of Nov. 20.

Fire Departments

ANON. Fire department statistics. Municipal Jour., Aug. 26, 1915, pp.287–315; Oct. 14, 1915: 581–583.)

ANON. Statistics of, I, fire departments, and II, of motor fire apparatus. (Municipal Engrg., Sept., 1915: 45–73.)

BOSTON

O'KEEFE (JOHN A.). Work of the fire prevention department. 3000 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 20, 1915.)

Describes the work of public education and cooperation of the Boston Fire Prevention Department.

CHICAGO

DAMONTE (H. F.). Chicago fire department. 2000 words. (Fireman's Herald, Sept. 25, 1915.)

CINCINNATI

See also Debt.

ANON. Cincinnati's fire department. (Municipal Jour., Aug. 26, 1915: 283–287, illus.)

DECATUR

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Report on the Decatur fire department. 2200 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 6, 1915.)

FALL RIVER

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Report on the Fall River Fire Department. 2500 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 6, 1915.)

NEW YORK CITY

BATES (PUTNAM A.). The fire alarm system of the city of New York. (Municipal Engrg. City of New York. Proc., 1914: 299–316, illus.)

NEWARK

ANON. Fire Department of the City of Newark, N. J.—how it is managed. (Newarker, Sept., 1915: 167–170, illus.)

ROCKFORD

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Report on fire conditions in Rockford, Ill. 2500 words. (Fire and Water Engrg, Oct. 6, 1915.)

Describes fire dept. and its equipment.

Fire Prevention

ANON. Protecting congested districts in cities. Causes of conflagrations, and methods by which they can be prevented. (Sci. Amer. no. 2077, Oct. 23, 1915: 270–271.)

NATIONAL BOARD OF FIRE UNDERWRITERS. Building code: an ordinance providing for the fire limits, and regulations governing the construction, alteration, equipment, repair, or removal of buildings or structures. Ed. 4. 1915. 326 pp., illus.

—— Regulations for the installation and use of internal combustion engines (gas, gasoline, kerosene, fuel oil also coal gas producers pressure and suction systems), recommended by the National Fire Protection Association. Ed. of 1915. 1915. 11 pp.

NATIONAL FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION. Regulations for the installation and use of the municipal fire alarm sys-

tems recommended by the assn. Ed. of 1915. 27 pp.

—— Regulation for the protection of openings in walls and partitions against fire, recommended by the assn. Ed. of 1915. 1915. 91 pp.

Government

BRUÈRE (HENRY). Development of standards in municipal government. (Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Science. Annals, Sept. 1915, 199–207.)

DELFAU (JOSE). La décentralisation communale. (Revue Générale d'Administration, Mars-Avril, 1915: 228–234.)

In 1912 a special commission of inquiry was appointed by the French Chamber of Deputies to report on various propositions looking to municipal decentralization. The chairman of the commission, M. Meunier, had prepared an elaborate report but the session of the General Assembly terminated before the report had been presented, and, as M. Delfau remarks, "depuis cette époque on n'a plus entendu parler de la réforme." M. Delfau, himself, pronounces the proposed decentralization as desirable in theory, but in practice as dangerous and inopportune. M. Delfau is sous-préfet of Uzès.

DETROIT CITIZENS' LEAGUE. Government by controlled precincts. 1915. 4 l. obl. 4°.

Address 623 Free Press Building, Detroit.

LAMBIE (ROBERT). Local government in Scotland. (Municipal Jour. [London], Sept. 3, 1915: 311–312.)

From the author's presidential address before the Incorporated Sanitary Association of Scotland, delivered at Glasgow, Sept. 2, 1915. Mr. Lambie is convener of the Public Health Committee, Lanarkshire County Council.

Grade Crossings

ALBANY

ANON. Difficult grade crossing elimination at Albany, N. Y. (Rwy. Age Gazette, Nov. 19, 1915: 961–963, illus.)

ST. LOUIS

ANON. Elimination of Tower Grove grade crossings at St. Louis completed. (Engrg. Rec., Nov. 20, 1915: 627–629, illus.)

Health

EL PASO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. Preliminary report of the health survey of El Paso [by] Jessie P. Rich and B. L. Arms, M.D. Housing health survey by Jos. H. Grossman. Sept. 25, 1915. 8 pp.

GUNN (SELSKAR M.). The present condition of public health organization in the United States. 1915. 48 pp.

A report of the Central Committee on Public Health Organization based on a voluntary survey of organizations of all sorts interested in public health. Published by the Council on Health and Public Instruction of the American Medical Association. Address 535 North Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill. Professor Gunn, who is secretary of the Central Committee, is of the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

MARX GREENE (B. D.). Joint health organization by small cities on the co-operative plan. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 551–557.)

Paper read at the 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Greene is city attorney of Antioch and Pittsburgh.

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO. Your rights and duties under the health laws of New York City. 11 pp. 12°.

Printed for the use of the industrial policyholders of the company.

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. Monograph ser. no. 11. Health district no. 1 (experimental health district), its organization and work performed in first quarter of 1915. 1915. 26 pp.

—— ——. Reprint ser. no. 31. Food regulations of the department of health. 1915. 70 pp.

SCHNEIDER (FRANZ, JR.). A survey of the public health situation, Ithaca, New York, 1914, for the central Committee for Ithaca Survey. 1915. 33 pp., illus.

UNITED STATES. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. Municipal ordinances, rules and regulations pertaining to public health. 1915. xx, 657 pp. 8°. (Reprint no. 273.)

Includes ordinances adopted during 1914 by cities of the U. S. having a population of over 10,000 in 1910. This volume is the fifth in the series of compilations of municipal ordinances and regulations pertaining to the public health which have been issued as reprints from the Public Health Reports. The preceding volumes are numbered Reprint no. 70, 121, 199 and 230 resp., and the series covers the period from Jan. 1, 1910 to Dec. 31, 1914.

—— ——. The notifiable diseases. Prevalence during 1914 in cities of over 100,000. 1915. 12 pp. Reprint no. 291.

Hinkley, Engl.

CRUMP, E. H. Eleven years' municipal work at Hinckley, Engl. (Proc. Inst. Municipal and County Engineers, 1914–5, pt. 1: 443–462.)

Housing

ALLISON (RICHARD). Housing—the problem. (Jour. Roy. Sanitary Institute, Aug., 1915: 299—304.)

Makes the important point of evils resulting from failure to provide for the inspection of plans for new buildings by the medical officer of health upon whom the responsibility of the administration of the Housing Acts rests. Referring to a specific illustration the author says: "Some of these houses were commenced in November, inhabited in January, and condemned as unfit for human habitation by the local medical officer in the following May." The author is sanitary inspector at Brighouse.

BALL (CHARLES BACKUS). Homes of to-day and citizens of to-morrow. Detroit, 1915. 10 pp. illus.

Address at the Detroit Museum of Art, April 15, 1915. Published by the Detroit Housing Association.

BENNETT (M. B.). Designs for artizans' dwellings in town and country. (Proc. Inst. of Municipal and County Engineers, 1914–5, pt. 1: 355–366, illus.)

BEUSTER (FRITZ). Städtische Sied-

lungs-politik nach dem Kriege. Berlin, 1915. VIII, 44 p.

The author anticipates a dearth of small dwellings when the war ends. In this brochure he outlines a program of administrative, financial and statutory provisions for the empire, the several states and for cities. Mr. Beuster, an official building adviser, believes the adoption of a systematic domiciliary policy to be imperative. He suggests that not only the financing, but the actual erection of dwellings be undertaken by the government, and cites the recent decision of the city of Amsterdam, by a vote of 319 for and 13 against, to erect of 3000 laborers' dwellings by the city.

A similar suggestion is made by the housing inspector of Charlottenburg, Albert Gut, in no. 14 of the Zeitschrift des Verbands Deutscher Architekten und Ingenieurvereine. A full abstract of Mr. Gut's proposal is given in Kommunale Praxis of Oct. 23, 1915.

BROWN (REGINALD). Housing at Southall-Norwood, England. (Surveyor and Municipal and County Engineer, Sept. 17, 1915: 308–312, illus.)

CHAPPELL (EDGAR L.). War and the housing problem. (Garden Cities and Town Planning, July, 1915: 130–134.)

DETROIT HOUSING ASSOCIATION. Right methods in housing bureau. 1915. 16 pp., illus.

DOWNS (WILLIAM C.). Rents for dwellings fixed by law. (U. S. Commerce Reports, 1915: 332–333.)

Summary of a bill introduced into the New South Wales Parliament on August 19, 1915. The measure applies to dwellings leased for a term not exceeding three years at a rent not exceeding $500 a year. It provides for the appointment by the governor of fair-rents courts. The rules governing the power of the court are given *in extenso*.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its reports to the San Francisco convention, 1915, pp. 98–99, in commenting on the less paternalistic provisions of U. S. Res. 61 congress [sic. i. e. H. R. 13871, 63 congress?], says: "This is one of the subjects that will require considerable discussion and agitation, before legislators in Congress, state assemblies, or municipal councils will pay heed to the need of the reformation or the plans suggested to solve the evils which everybody recognizes, and which few undertake to remedy."

EGINTON (ARTHUR T.). Tenements and tenants. (Jour. Roy. Sanitary Institute, Aug. 1915: 305–316.)

The author is chief sanitary inspector of the Lancashire County Council.

HALL (A. B.). Housing and the police power. (National-Real Estate Jour., Oct. 1915: 269–276.)

HEADLEY (MADGE D.). Housing England's submerged tenth. (Amer. City, Sept., 1915: 192–196.)

HEXAMER (CHARLES A.). Occupancy restriction in buildings. (Real Estate Mag., Sept., 1915: 35–38.)

IHLDER (JOHN). City housing—past and future. 1915. 14 pp.

National Housing Assoc. Publications. No. 28. Price 5 cents a copy. Address 105 E. 22d st., New York City.

———. Financing English housing. (Amer. City, Oct., 1915: 291–298.)

LANCASHIRE (W. T.). Housing in cottages. (Proc. Inst. Municipal and County Engrs., 1914–5, pt. 1: 299–311, illus.)

A questionnaire with particular reference to the financial results of housing schemes in cottages, was sent by the author to fifteen towns of the Midlands and the North of England. The returns received form the basis of this article. The towns reported on are Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Bradford, Hull, Salford, Birkenhead, Middlesborough, Burton-on-Trent, Keighley, Shipley and Leeds. Mr. Lancashire is city engineer and building surveyor of Leeds.

LINDEMANN (HUGO). Bauschwindel und Wohnungswesen. (Kommunale Praxis, Sept. 18, 1915: 607–612; Sept. 25, 1915: 623–628.)

Critical review of a memorial submitted to the Prussian Lower House in May, 1914, by the Prussian Minister of Trade, concerning losses accruing to builders in Greater Berlin owing to overproduction of buildings.

———. Die Entwickelung unserer Wohnungsverhältnisse. (Kommunale Praxis, Oct. 16, 1915, c. 671–674.)

MEAD (MARCIA). The Ellen Wilson homes. (Real Estate Mag., Sept., 1915: 51–59, illus.)

MIDGLEY (J. C.). The housing and town planning act, 1909 (part 2), as applied to commercial and industrial districts. (Proc. Inst. of Municipal and County Engrs', 1914–5, pt. 1: 90–101, illus.)

Mr. Midgley is deputy town surveyor, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

NINDE (L. J.). "Land supervision and its effect upon housing." (National Real Estate Jour., Oct., 1915: 267–268.)

WILMARTH (LEWIS T.). How one city got better housing. Sept., 1915. 9 pp. 8°.

Publication no. 30, National Housing Assoc. 105 E. 22d st., New York City. Price 5 cents.

NOLEN (JOHN). Land supervision and its effect upon housing. (National Real Estate Jour., Oct., 1915: 259–265.)

Ice Plants

COOPER (HUGH G.). A successful municipal ice plant. (Amer. Municipalities, Sept., 1915: 169–170.)

The ice plant at Weatherford, Okla., a town of 2100 population.

Industrial Cities

PENNSYLVANIA. BUREAU OF INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS. Annual report (41st.), 1913–4. 1915. 125 pp.

Pages 64–93 comprise "Model villages and homes as uplift means." The places described are the Viscose industrial village at Marcus Hook on the Delaware River, Palmerton in the valley of the Lehigh near Mauch Chunk, Campell industrial village, and Hershey, "the chocolate town". Viscose village was established by the American Viscose Co., mnfrers. of fiber silk, Campbell by the Joseph Campbell Co., canners of soups, Palmerton by the N. J. Zinc Co. of Pennsylvania, and Hershey by the manufacturers of chocolate.

Institutions

WORTHINGTON (MARY GRACE). Fifty benevolent and social institutions in and near New York. A brief guide for visitors. 1915. 100 pp. 24°.

Mrs. Worthington is field work specialist on the teaching staff of the New York School of Philanthropy. Only those who have had occasion to use the information admirably compiled in this volume, can appreciate the need for just such a handbook.

Jails

ABBOTT (EDITH). The real jail problem. 1915. 8 pp.

Issued by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago.

Japanese Cities

JAPAN. IMPERIAL JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS. An official guide to eastern Asia. vol. 4. China. 1915. cxxiv, 414 pp. 12°. illus., maps.

Contains excellent detailed descriptions of Chinese cities and street plans of 15 Chinese cities.

Light and Power Plants

DICKERMAN (J. C.). The cost of supplying illuminating gas in the American cities (smaller), exclusive of returns of capital invested. (Utility Mag., Nov., 1915: 2–7.)

UNITED STATES. STANDARDS BUREAU. Circular 32. Standards for gas service. Ed. 3. March, 1915. 197 pp. 4°.

Part 1. Discussion of technical specifications. Part 2. Enforcement of technical regulations. A. City v. state control of gas service. B. Regulation by state authorities. C. City inspection service. Part 3. Proposed forms for regulations. A. Rules proposed for state commissions. B. Proposed city ordinance. Part 4. A. Summary of laws in force. B. Municipal regulations in force.

BUDA-PEST

BERNAUER (I.). New gas plant at Buda-pest. 9 illus., 3500 words. (Gas Age, Sept. 15, 1915.)

Continued from previous no. of Gas Age.

COLUMBUS

WILSON (THOMAS). City and state power plant at Columbus, O. 3500 words, 9 illus. (Power, Sept. 7, 1915.)

City of Columbus generates electric energy for its street lighting and for sale to private consumers. It also owns the plant in which grease and liquid are removed from the city garbage. The power equipment at the penitentiary and the State University are also described.

DETROIT

HIRSHFELD (C. F.). The Connors Creek plant of the Detroit Edison Co. (Jour. Cleveland Engrg. Society, Sept., 1915: 83–110, illus.)

With a list of references. Prof. Hirshfeld is chief of the research department of the company.

KINCAID

WILSON (THOMAS). Power plant at Kincaid, Ill. 2500 words, 8 illus. (Power, Sept. 28, 1915.)

Notable features of the new 6000 kw. turbine plant of the Central Ill. Public Service Co.

MONTREAL

See Water Supply.

SOUTH NORWALK

ANON. Electric light plant of South Norwalk, Conn. (Municipal Engrg., Oct., 1915: 137–138, illus.)

The former city of South Norwalk is now the second taxing district of the city of Norwalk, for the purposes of carrying on the municipal electric lighting plant, which, though small, is very prosperous and shows the possibilities in the efficient management of small municipal plants in paying for the installations out of the proceeds at the same time that the rates are kept as low as those in other plants giving similar service under similar conditions. The plant was originally established under municipal operation in 1892. Twenty annual reports were issued by the Board of Electrical Commissioners of South Norwalk, the first covering the period from March to October, 1893, and the last the year ended October 13, 1912. With the twenty-first report the reporting body became the Board of Electrical Commissioners of the Second Taxing District of Norwalk, Conn. Two reports have been made by the latter body. A feature of the reports of the earlier board is a series of special reports on specific subjects connected with the plant.

Lighting

Streets; see Street Lighting

Markets

MACKENZIE (D. E.). Municipal markets. (Canadian Municipal Jour., Nov., 1915: 393.)

Mr. MacKenzie is municipal market clerk, New Westminster, B. C.

PERKINS (GEORGE W.). The need in this city [i.e. N. Y. City] for a department of markets. 9 folios.

Mimeograph copy. Address before the Bronx Board of Trade on Nov. 18, 1915.

PITTSBURGH

ANON. Pittsburgh's new market house. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 30, 1915: 506, illus.)

PORTLAND

WHITE (H. M.). Portland's permanent market. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 30, 1915: 508, illus.)

Mortality

PRUDENTIAL INSURANCE CO. OF AMERICA. Mortality from tuberculosis of lungs in American cities, 1885–1914. Chart $8\frac{1}{2}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Tabulation for northern and western cities showing a decline from 300 per 100,000 in 1885 to 150 per 100,000 in 1914 for the total population respectively. For southern cities the tabulation shows a decline from 650 per 100,000 in 1885 to 400 per 100,000 in 1914 for colored persons, and from 300 to 150 for white persons. These two charts are portions of a comprehensive series on mortality.

——. Mortality in occupations exposed to municipal dust. 1915. Chart, $8\frac{1}{2}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Original tabulation based on the industrial experience of the Prudential Insurance Co. from 1907 to 1912. The occupations included in the chart are street cleaners, drivers, draymen, teamsters, coachmen, street car conductors and street car motormen.

Mosquito Extermination

NEW YORK CITY. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH. Reprint ser. no. 34. The mosquito as a pest and as a carrier of malaria. 1915. 18 pp.

Motion Pictures

PENNSYLVANIA. STATE BOARD OF CENSORS OF MOTION PICTURES. Rules and standards. 1915. 20 pp. 8°.

Municipal Exhibits

DAYTON

ANON. Municipal exhibit at Dayton. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 4, 1915: 690–692, illus.)

SPOKANE

GEORGE (RALPH E.). Spokane's municipal exhibit. (Amer. City, Nov., 1915: 408, illus.)

Municipal Experts

ANON. Co-operative public health instruction. (American Jour. Public Health, Nov., 1915: 1184–85.)

Outline of a co-operative course between the junior students in the two medical colleges in Cincinnati, O., and the city Health Department.

STIER-SOMLO (PROF. DR.). Lehrstätten der Kommunalwissenschaft. (Zeitschr. der Kommunalwisscenschaft. Juli-August, 1915: 77–84.)

Municipal Home Rule

CURRAN (H. H.). Home rule for American cities. 16 pp. 8°.

Repr. from Yale Review, July, 1915.

GREEN (C. W.). Home rule a benefit to cities and state. (Kansas Municipalities, Oct., 1915: 8–9.)

Mr. Green is president of the Kansas League of Municipalities, and mayor of Kansas City, Kan.

HIGGINS (R. J.). Home rule essential to Kansas cities. (Kansas Municipalities, Oct., 1915: 1–7.)

Report of the Legislative Committee, Kansas League of Municipalities, the chairman of which, Mr. Higgins, is city attorney of Kansas City, Kan.

WICKERSHAM (GEORGE W.).

Discussion of the home rule for cities clause in the New York State constitution. (New York Sun, Sept. 29, 1915, 3 columns.)

Municipal Ownership

See also Auditoriums, Baths, Light and Power Plants, Markets, Stadiums, Street Railways, Water Supply.

ARNOLD (BION J.). On municipal ownership of electric railways.

Interview in Los Angeles Times, Oct. 15, 1915. The interview was given by Mr. Arnold to correct the impression given by reports of his address at the San Francisco convention of the American Electric Rwy. Assoc. These reports alleged that Mr. Arnold approved the policy of municipal ownership of electric railways. A synopsis of the Times interview is printed in the Electric Rwy. Journal of October 30, 1915: 910–911. The address which occasioned this interview is entered below under Valuation.

BOURNE (JONATHAN, JR.). The evils of government ownership. 1915. 8 pp. 4°.

Reprinted from Aera of Oct., 1915, by the American Electric Rwy. Assoc., 8 West 40th St., New York City. An address before the 34th annual convention of the Amer. Electric Rwy. Assoc., S. F., Oct. 6, 1915. Mr. Bourne is former U. S. Senator from Oregon. Reprinted in part in Public Service, November, 1915.

BRIDGES (ROBERT). Public ownership and operation of water and rail terminal facilities produce the greatest dispatch and economy. 1915. 15 pp. 8°.

Mr. Bridges is president of the Seattle Port Commission. The paper was prepared for the 6th annual convention of the League of Washington Municipalities, Oct., 1915.

GRAMBS (W. J.). The inefficiency of municipal ownership. (Stone and Webster Public Service Jour., Nov., 1915: 321–348.)

Paper read before League of Washington Municipalities at its convention held at North Yakima, Oct. 6–8, 1915.

LARSEN (C. M.). State regulation of municipally owned plant. (Jour. of the Amer. Waterworks assn., Sept., 1915. 23 pp.)

——. Same, condensed. 12,000 words. (Water and Gas Review, Oct., 1915.)

From a paper before the Illinois section of the Amer. Waterworks Assn. Mr. Larsen is chief engineer of the Wisc. Railroad Commission.

BERLIN

BROOKS (ROBERT C.). Municipalization of the Berlin electric works. (Quarterly Jour. of Economics, Nov., 1915: 188–194.)

EDMONTON

REAT (SAMUEL C.). Municipal ownership [of public utilities] in Edmonton. (U. S. Commerce Reports. October 9, 1915: 140–141.)

LONDON, ENGL.

ANON. An interesting situation in municipal ownership. (Stone and Webster Public Service Jour., Nov., 1915: 319–320.)

Relates to increase in fares to meet increased expenditures of tramways of London, Engl.

Ordinances

Building Codes; see that title

Electric Wiring; see Electric Installation

Pageants

CALDWELL BOARD OF TRADE, Caldwell, N. J. Program of the pageant and folk dances in celebration of the 225th anniversary of the settlement of Caldwell, Independence Day, 1915. 32 pp., illus. 4°.

Parks

See also Recreation

BURNAP (GEORGE). Architecture in parks. (Amer. City, Sept. 1915: 185–192.)

——. Park utilities. (Amer. City, Nov., 1915: 371–379, illus.)

CINCINNATI

See Debt.

Pensions

NEW YORK CITY. Finance Department. Report on the pension funds of the City of New York. Receipts, disbursements and statutory provisions. Nov., 1915. 56 pp. 4°.

Photographic Bureaus

WHITE (H. M.). Portland bureau of photography. (Municipal Jour., Oct. 14, 1915: 577–578, illus.)

Playgrounds

See also Recreation

BALTIMORE

ANON. Baltimore's Playground Association is accomplishing wonderful results for this community. (Baltimore, Municipal Jour., Oct. 1, 1915. 3 pp., diagr.)

CINCINNATI

See Debt

OAKLAND

OAKLAND. RECREATION DEPARTMENT. Playgrounds and recreation centers. 1915. 9 pp.

Police Women

BEVERIDGE (EDNA ANNETTE). Establishing policewomen in Maryland in 1912. (Proc. Nat'l. Conf. Charities and Correction, 42d sess., 1915: 418–421.)

NILES (ALFRED S.). The policewomen and the social problem. (Proc. Nat'l. Conf. Charities and Correction, 42d sess., 1915: 421–433.)

The Hon. Mr. Niles is a member of the Board of Police Commissioners of Baltimore, Md. The text of the Baltimore police regulation regulating disorderly houses is printed on pp. 427–428.

WELLS (ALICE STEBBINS). Policewomen. (Proc. Nat'l. Conf. Charities and Correction, 42d sess., 1915, 411–418.)

Poor

CITY CLUB OF BERKELEY. Civic Bulletin, vol. 4, no. 3b. Poor relief in Berkeley. Oct. 25, 1915: 49–83.

Some peculiar conditions of Berkeley poor relief; by F. V. Cornish. Unemployment relief in Berkeley; by F. C. Mills. What the city of Berkeley is doing for its poor; by Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto.

Population

CLARK (EARLE). Contributions to urban growth. (Amer. Statistical Assoc. Quar. pubs., Sept., 1915: 654–671.)

GILLETTE, JOHN M. AND GEORGE R. DAVIES. Measure of rural migration and other factors of urban increase in the United States. (Amer. Statistical Assoc. Quar. pubs., Sept., 1915: 642–653.)

Port Development

MCSWEENEY, EDWARD F. The problems of port development. Boston, 1915. 29 pp. 8°.

Mr. McSweeney is chairman of the Directors of the Port of Boston. An able address presented at the fourth annual convention of the American Association of Port Authorities at Los Angeles, Sept. 13–15, 1915. Some of the points discussed are politics in port development, public control of the water front, shipping laws, differentials, free dockage, harbor dues, railroad finance, the shipping trust, public control of terminals.

——. Port facilities and view on expansion. (Manufacturers' Rec., Nov. 11, 1915: 46–47.)

BOSTON

MASSACHUSETTS. DIRECTORS OF THE PORT OF BOSTON. Supplementary report, March 31, 1915. 101 pp., plans, maps. 8°.

Analysis of port conditions, development of the port, revision of harbor lines, re-establishment of an American merchant marine, community value of a port, Commonwealth pier as a joint landing stage, industrial center and distributing warehouses, market conditions in Boston, lumber industry, cotton industry, New England shoe and leather business, port finances.

MCSWEENEY (EDWARD F.). Future of the port of Boston. (Boston City Club Bull., Nov., 1915: 8–21.)

LISBON

LISBON, PORTUGAL. Harbour Board. Port of Lisbon. 1915. 102 pp., illus., 2 maps. 8°.

NEW YORK CITY

MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK. Bulletin 4, no. 31, Sept. 6, 1915: 1–5. New York takes up its greatest improvement.

Comment on the appointment of a commission by the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment to study and report upon the terminal facilities of Greater New York.

NEW YORK CITY. COMMITTEE ON PORT AND TERMINAL FACILITIES, BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND APPORTIONMENT. Report, 1915. 61 pp. 4°.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. MUNICIPAL REFERENCE BRANCH. Terminal facilities of the port of New York. (Municipal Reference Library Notes, Oct. 20, 1915: 61–80.)

Material on file in the library of the Merchants' Association and in the Reference Department of the New York Public Library has been incorporated. "The aim has been to cover only recent years. Material published before 1900, has, with a few exceptions, been excluded."

SEATTLE

SEATTLE (WASH.). Port of Seattle Commission, Bulletin 5. Oct. 1, 1915. An open letter to the Federal Trade Commission. 95 (1) pp., illus.

A general statement concerning Seattle's terminal facilities pursuant to the Trade Commission's desire, expressed by Chairman Davis, to obtain information that would bring about conditions whereby avenues of trade would be kept open, free from interference, with unrestricted competition.

HIGDAY (HAMILTON). The Seattle port district. A review of four years' work of the Port Commission—1911–1915. 22 folios. F°. illus.

Issued by the Seattle Post Commission.

Public Defender

ANON. On the public defender. A symposium. (Jour. of Crim. Law and Criminology, Sept., 1915: 370–384.)

Public Utilities

KELLEY (P. J.). Municipal co-operation in utility management. (Electric Rwy. Jour., Oct. 23, 1915: 861–863.)

PAXTON (EDWARD T.). Public service rates in Texas cities. 1915. 141 pp. (Bull., Univ. of Texas, no. 45, Municipal Research ser. no. 10.)

ROEMER (JOHN H.). Municipal regulation of public utilities. (Rand-McNally Bankers' Monthly, Oct., 1915: 41–52.)

CHICAGO

FISHER (WALTER L.). In the matter of the proposed forfeiture of the telephone rights and property of the Chicago Tunnel Company. Opinion given to the Mayor and the Committee on Gas, Oil and Electric Light of the City. July 3, 1915. 62 pp. 4°.

FOSTER (STEPHEN A.). In the matter of the forfeiture of the automatic telephone system of the Chicago Tunnel Co. Opinion rendered the Committee on Gas, Oil

and Electric Light of the Chicago City Council. 56 pp. 4°.

CINCINNATI

LOWRIE (S. G.). Public utility problems in Cincinnati. (Utilities Mag., Nov., 1915: 7–14.)

SEATTLE

ANON. The public utility situation in Seattle. (Stone & Webster Public Service Jour., Sept., 1915: 166–174.)

Light and Power Plants; see that title

Street Railways; see that title

Purchasing Systems

CALLOW (A. R.). Purchasing and distributing supplies in Cleveland. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 9, 1915: 391–394, illus.)

Operation of the Purchasing Department of Cleveland, created on Aug. 1, 1907.

Recreation

BEISSER (PAUL T.). Unit costs in recreational facilities. (Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science. Annals, Nov., 1915: 140–147.)

Parks, Playgrounds, Bathing Beaches and Swimming Pools of Chicago.

MARSHALL (WILLIAM R.). The municipal rest houses of Pasadena. (Amer. City, Nov., 1915: 382–383, illus.)

Rest Houses; see Recreation

Refrigerating Plants

ANON. Columbus refrigerating plant. 4 illus. 1800 words. (Power, Sept. 7, 1915.)

Refuse Disposal

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION. Report of the committee on city wastes; the economics of waste collection and disposal. (Amer. Jour. Public Health, Nov., 1915: 1164–1167.)

Dr. P. M. Hall, health editor, Minneapolis Tribune, chairman.

ANON. Refuse collection and disposal. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 11, 1915: 722–738; Nov. 25, 1915: 812–814.)

Information from several hundred cities concerning the methods and costs of collecting garbage, ashes and other refuse, and of disposing of them; kinds of cans and carts used; details of incineration and reduction; itemized costs.

ANON. Requirements for refuse receptacles. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 18, 1915: 780–782.)

Specific information as to character of receptacle and place from which refuse is collected in scores of American and Canadian cities.

ROBINSON (LEONARD L.). Notes on the refuse destructor works and electricity undertaking of the borough of Hackney. (Proc. Inst. Municipal and County Engrs., 1914–5, pt. 1: 319–331, illus.)

Mr. Robinson is borough electrical engineer.

SHAW (W. J.). Municipal system of garbage collection. 2 illus., 1500 words. (Municipal World, Sept., 1915.)

STATE BUREAU OF MUNICIPAL INFORMATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE OF MAYORS AND OTHER CITY OFFICIALS. Care, collection and disposal of manure in and by cities. Municipal ordinances, rules and regulations. Sept. 15, 1915. 12 folios. 4°.

LOS ANGELES

HANSEN (A. C.). Refuse collection and disposal for the city of Los Angeles. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 532–536.)

Paper read at 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Hansen is city engineer of Los Angeles.

PORTLAND

HELBER (WILLIAM G.). Refuse incinerator in Portland. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 18, 1915: 774–775.)

READING

MATTHIAS (W. C.). Garbage disposal at Reading. (Municipal Jour., Oct. 7, 1915: 544–545.)

Mr. Matthias is chief of the Bureau of Electricity, Reading.

SEWICKLEY

DUFF (EDWARD E., JR.). Garbage collection and incineration in Sewickley. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 11, 1915: 719–722, illus.)

Mr. Duff is borough engineer of Sewickley.

Schools

TAX ASSOCIATION OF ALAMEDA COUNTY. Summary of a survey of the school department of Oakland [Cal.]. Its organization, business management, etc. Aug., 1915. 20 pp. (Report no. 19.)

Sewage Disposal

ALBANY

GREGORY (JOHN H.). The Albany sewage disposal works. 2 illus., 2700 words. (Engrg. News, Oct. 7, 1915.)

BOSTON

CONANT (W. B.). Boston's new sewage pumping station. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 18, 1915: 775–776, illus.)

CHICAGO

CHICAGO REAL ESTATE BOARD. A report to the Board on the disposal of the sewage and protection of the water supply of Chicago. By George A. Soper, John D. Watson, Arthur J. Martin. 1915. 212 pp.

GLOVERSVILLE

EDDY (H. P.), and H. J. HANMER. Construction and operation of Gloversville sewage works. 7 illus. 4900 words. (Engrg. News, Oct. 14 and 21, 1915.)

NEW YORK CITY

GREGORY, CHARLES E. Disposal of Greater New York's sewage. (Municipal Jour., Nov. 4, 1915: 692–694.)

Abstract of a paper read before the Municipal Engineers of the City of New York. Mr. Gregory is engineer in charge of sewers, Manhattan.

WORCESTER

CAINK (T.). Worcester sewage disposal works. (Proc. Inst. of Municipal and County Engrs., 1914–5, pt. 1: 173–200. illus.)

Sewerage

Los Angeles

Knowlton (W. T.). The sewerage system of Los Angeles. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 557–562.)

Paper read at the 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Knowlton is engineer of sewers, Los Angeles.

Toronto

Anon. Keele street sewer system, Toronto. (Canadian Engineer, Nov. 18, 1915: 581–583, illus.)

Signs

White (H. M.). Municipally made street signs. (Municipal Jour., Oct. 28, 1915: 659, illus.)

The city of Portland, Ore., has established a municipal sign writing bureau.

Smoke Abatement

See also Air Conditioning.

Breckenridge (L. P.). How to burn soft coal with economy and without smoke. (Jour. Cleveland Engineering Society, Sept., 1915: 111–134.)

With a list of references. Dr. Breckenridge is professor in charge, Mechanical Department, Sheffield Scientific School.

Cincinnati

Funk (G. H.). Abatement of locomotive smoke in Cincinnati. (Rwy. Age Gazette, mech. ed., Nov., 1915: 566.)

Abstract of a paper presented to the tenth annual convention of the International Assoc. for the Prevention of Smoke. Mr. Funk is General Smoke Inspector, Cincinnati Railway Smoke Inspection Bureau.

Maxfield (H. H.). Smokeless locomotive operation without special apparatus. (Rwy. Age Gazette, mech. ed., Nov., 1915: 561–562.)

Abstract of a paper presented to the tenth annual convention of the International Assoc. for the Prevention of Smoke. Mr. Maxfield is master mechanic of the Pennsylvania R. R.

Salt Lake City

Snow (George W.). Smoke elimination in Salt Lake City. (Amer. City, Sept., 1915: 196–197.)

Snow Removal

New York City

Fetherston (J. T.). Snow removal in New York City. (Municipal Engineers Jour., Nov., 1915: 339–377, illus., tables.)

Parlin (Raymond W.). Preparing for snow storms. The snow problem of New York City. 5 illus., 1200 words. (Amer. City, Oct., 1915.)

Mr. Parlin is of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

Social Surveys

Gillin (J. L.). The social survey and its further development. (Amer. Statistical Assoc. Quar. publications, Sept., 1915: 603–610.)

Boston

Dorion (Eustache C. E.). The redemption of the South End [of Boston]; a study in evangelization. [1915.] 124 pp., 14 pls. portrs. (Constructive church series.)

Brooklyn

Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Community study, parish of the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church. 1915. 60 pp., 1 l., illus.

Burlington, Vt.

Committee on Social Survey of Burlington, Vt. A survey of the city of Burlington. Its charities and its housing conditions. 1915. 85 pp., illus.

Includes, pp. 43–85, "A Survey of Housing conditions in Burlington. By Udetta D. Brown, member of the National Housing Association.

Special Assessments

Ormond (William C.). Assessments for local improvements. (Municipal Engrs. City of New York. Proc., 1914: 206-298.)

Mr. Ormond is commissioner of the Board of assessments of the City of New York.

Stadiums

Rhodes, F. A. San Diego's municipal stadium. 7 illus., 2200 words. (Engrg. News, Sept. 23, 1915.)

Street Cleaning

Connell (W. H.). Dust suppression and street cleaning practice in Philadelphia. 11 illus., 3000 words. (Engrg. and Contracting, Oct. 13, 1915.)

Extract of a paper by the chief of the Philadelphia Street Cleaning Bureau.

Street Lighting

Anon. The luminous arc lamp. 5000 words, 13 illus. (Electrical Review, Sept. 4, 1915.)

Use of this lamp for street and other outdoor lighting.

——. Gas and electric street lights. A comparison of cost and efficiency. (Municipal Engrg., Sept., 1915: 96–98.)

——. Lighting city streets. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 23, 1915: 467–469, illus.)

Essentials of good street lighting; light standards; underground wiring; cost of installation; operating costs.

Clewell (C. E.). Notes on street lighting. 3500 words, 4 illus. (Lighting Jour., August, 1915.)

Results of a study into the street lighting of a representative city of moderate size. Attention is called to some of the things which should receive attention in making an analysis of a street lighting situation where conditions appear wrong but where no one in authority knows exactly how to classify the difficulties.

State Bureau of Municipal Information of the New York State Conference of Mayors and other City Officials. Street lighting by electricity in New York State cities. Describing ornamental and general systems, unit cost and methods of assessment. August, 1915. 24 ll.

Vaughn (F. A.). A practical application of principles of scientific street lighting. 1915. 35 pp., illus., diagr.

Cleveland

Harrison (Ward). Cleveland lantern

for ornamental lighting. 3000 words, 6 illus. (Electrical World, Sept. 4, 1915.)

Details of new lamps used in white way lighting in Cleveland, O.

INDIANAPOLIS

ANON. Flame arc lighting of Indianapolis streets. 1100 words, 6 illus. (Electrical World, Aug. 28, 1915.)

Construction of a complete 2632 lamp system for a city of 250,000 in 90 days at a cost of $750,000.

Street Planting

HAMILTON (A. L.). Street trees. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 536–539.)

Paper read at the 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Hamilton is chairman of the Park Commission of Pasadena.

Street Railways: Elevated

HAMBURG

SCHIMFF (G.). Die Hochbahn in Hamburg. (Organ für die Fortschritte des Eisenbahnwesens, Sept. 1, 1915: 283–289; 303–307, diagrs. To be continued.)

Street Railways: Surface

MCGRAW (J. H.). The boon of electric railways. Their origin, development and progress traced through the years of their existence. What they have done and what they are doing to further growth of nation and communities. (Aera, Nov., 1915: 305–314.)

CALGARY

HARDENBURG (W. E.). Calgary's municipal street railway. (Municipal Jour., September 9, 1915: 395–397, illus.)

CLEVELAND

ANON. Cleveland builds four operating sta ions. (Electric Rwy. Jour., Aug. 28, 1915: 356–361, illus.)

DETROIT

DETROIT CITIZENS LEAGUE. The Civic Searchlight. vol. 2, no. 10. Oct., 1915. 4 pp.

Contains statements from two citizens of Detroit whose sincerity of purpose and fairness of judgment is above reproach, viz., Rev. S. S. Marquis, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and Hon. C. M. Burton, on the question of the contract providing for municipal ownership of street railways. The Rev. Mr. Marquis discusses the affirmative side and the Hon. Mr. Burton the negative. The action taken on Nov. 2, 1915, by the citizens of Detroit was the outcome of months of dickering between the directors of the company and the Detroit Street Railway Commission that finally ended in an agreement the terms of which, it was announced last August, would be voted on at this election.

Had the plan been approved, the city would have taken over from the company its lines and equipment within the one-fare zone at a purchase price which it was agreed should be fixed by the Circuit Court. The agreement consummated negotiations which began between the company and the city last February, when the company offered to sell the property for $28,500,000. The city in turn offered $24,900,000, the amount of bonded indebtedness, and on March 9 the proposition was accepted by the company.

This offer was amended by the Commissioners, however, on April 22, the offer this time being $23,285,000, which the company declined on May 3. Under the plan finally agreed upon after an exchange of ultimatums, the city was to assume payment of the 4½ per cent bonds up to the limit of its bonding power, which is 2 per cent of the taxable value of the property within the city limits.

This would have provided for about $11,000,000 of the $24,900,000 bonds. The remainder of the purchase price, which would have been fixed by the court, would have been paid by a sinking fund created out of the earnings of the railway system under municipal direction. About 220 miles of track are included in the company's lines within the one-fare zone that would have changed hands, while besides this it owns more than 600 miles of interurban tracks.

It was said before the election, when the consensus of opinion was that the question would be defeated, that in that case there would be a resumption of negotiations with the city for a franchise, with the probability that one would be obtained on advantageous terms.

WILCOX, DELOS F. The street railway crisis in Detroit. (Economic World, Oct. 23, 1915: 526–529.)

TOLEDO

TOLEDO (O.). Ordinances. Proposed ordinance providing for an immediate street railway service in the city of Toledo pending municipal ownership, etc. 1915. 1 p. l., 51 pp., 1 l.

The Committee proposing the ordinance is composed of R. A. Bartley, F. M. Dotson, Alfred B. Koch, James Thompson, Chas. Ward. The ordinance was voted on November 2.

Street Railways: Underground

NEW YORK CITY

DUDLEY (JAMES G.). New York subway ventilation. Sept., 1915. 39 pp., illus. 8°.

LAVIS, FRED. Building the new rapid transit system of New York City. [New York,] 1915. 73 pp., illus. 4°.

Reprinted from articles published in Engineering News, October 1–December 31, 1914. Price, $1.35.

NEW YORK CITY. Fire Department. Report on fire protection in the subway. July 20, 1915. 34 pp.

Swimming Pools; see also Recreation

MANHEIMER (W. A.). Essentials of swimming-pool sanitation. (U. S. Public Health Service. Public Health Reports, Sept. 17, 1915: 2796–2811.)

Traffic

HOBART (JAMES F.). Marking safety zones on busy street crossings. (Municipal Engrg., Sept., 99–100.)

CLEVELAND

BENESCH (ALFRED A.). Regulating street traffic in Cleveland. (Amer. City, Sept., 1915, pp. 182–184.)

DENVER

BEELER (JOHN A.). Street traffic information. Sept., 1915. 12 pp., obl. 12°.

Mr. Beeler is vice-president and general manager of the Denver Tramway Co. The pamphlet deals with a street traffic count and survey recently made by the Denver Tramway Co.

DENVER TRAMWAY CO. Shall street car stops be changed? Aug., 1915. 8 pp., obl. 12°.

In opposition to the agitation to adopt the near-side stop in Denver.

DETROIT

ANON. Traffic regulation in Detroit and Toronto. (Canadian Engineer, Sept. 16, 1915: 380–381.

NEWARK

ANON. Newark terminal to relieve traffic congestion. 3 illus., 1900 words. (Engrg. News, Oct. 7, 1915.)

Transportation

CITY CLUB OF BERKELEY. Civic Bulletin. Vol. 4, no. 2. Transportation problems of Berkeley.- Sept. 25, 1915: 17–32.

Transportation from the manufacturers viewpoint; by T. H. Fallon. Cost of poor roads and streets; by B. J. Bither. Transportation between Oakland and Berkeley; by D. Werner Hegemann. Transportation map of Berkeley; by the secretary.

LONDON, ENG.

STANLEY (A.). Tram versus 'buses in London. (London Municipal Jour., Nov. 5, 1915: 1003–1004.)

NEW YORK CITY

NEW YORK CITY. BOARD OF ESTIMATE AND APPORTIONMENT. Committee on Franchises. Report in relation to pending petitions for the right to operate motor bus routes in the Borough of Manhattan with proposed form of contract. October 15, 1915. 43 pp., map. 4°.

Tunnels

MONTREAL

ANON. Completing the Mount Royal tunnel into Montreal. (Railway Age Gazette, Nov. 5, 1915: 857–861, illus.)

NEW YORK CITY

CARPENTER (HAROLD). Flooding and recovery of the Astoria tunnel. 10 illus., 6,900 words. (Engrg. News, Oct. 7 and 14, 1915.)

DAVIES (JOHN V.). Astoria gas tunnel for New York City. 10 illus., 13,000 words. (Gas Age, Oct. 1, 1915.)

Mr. Davies is the engineer in charge.

Valuation

ARNOLD (BION J.). Foundation principles of utility valuation with special application to resettlement plans. 1915. 44 pp. 8°.

Presented at the San Francisco convention of the American Electric Rwy. Assoc., Oct., 1915.

GILLETTE (HALBERT P.). Valuation of water works properties. IV. The Appraisal of reservoir site value. 2,500 words. (Eng. and contracting, Aug. 4, 1915.)

——. Valuation of water works properties. V. The appraisal of water right values. 3,500 words. (Engrg. and contracting, Sept. 1, 1915.)

——. The valuation of water works properties. VI. Appraisal of development cost or going value and franchise value. (Engrg. and Contracting, Oct. 6, 1915: 258–261, tables.)

Viaducts

KANSAS CITY, MO.

ANON. Constructing Twelfth street traffic-way viaduct, Kansas City, Mo. 3,000 words, illus. (Engrg. and Contracting, Oct. 27, 1915.

PORTLAND

CONANT (W. B.). The Portland viaduct. (Municipal Jour., Sept. 30, 1915: 499–502, illus.)

ST. LOUIS

MARTIN (CHARLES W.). Reinforced concrete viaduct at St. Louis, Mo. 2,100 words, illus. (Engrg. News, Oct. 14, 1915.)

Water Supply

ANON. Statistics of water works in the United States. (Fire and Water Engrg. Sept. 1, 1915, 2 pp.

Source of supply, daily capacity, pressure, purification methods, cost, etc.

GREAT BRITAIN. LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD. Water undertakings (England and Wales). London, 1915. xlii, 599 pp. F°.

An exceedingly valuable publication showing as regards every water undertaking in England and Wales (a) the powers under which the undertakers are authorized to supply water; (b) the limits within which the undertakers may supply water; (c) the places actually supplied; (d) the sources of supply, their nature and efficiency; (e) particulars as to the works, the quantity and quality of the water supplied; and, also, as regards every district in England and Wales (a) the area and population of the district, and the number of houses therein; (b) the number of houses supplied from a piped service; (c) the names of the undertakers supplying the water; (d) the source, nature, and sufficiency of the supply where there is no piped service. Price 5s. 1d.

BUTTE

MEINZER (O. E.). Water resources of Butte. 2,500 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Aug. 11, 1915.)

CHICAGO

CITY CLUB OF CHICAGO. Water waste in city of Chicago. Report of the subcommittee of the Committee on Water Supply. (City Club Bull., Oct. 13, 1915: 115–117.)

COUNCIL BLUFFS

ANON. Council Bluffs water works regeneration reverses slump in population curve. 1,800 words, 3 illus. (Engrg. Rec., Sept. 4, 1915.)

Adequate fire service improved the city and attracted manufacturing plants.

HAMILTON, ONT.

MACALLUM (ANDREW F.). Reconstruction of Hamilton, Ont., water works. (Municipal Engrg. Nov., 1915: 164–167, illus.)

KANSAS CITY, MO.

ANON. Kansas City water works. 3 illus., 2,500 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Oct. 6, 1915.)

LOS ANGELES

MULHOLLAND (WILLIAM). The municipal water supply of Los Angeles. (Pacific Municipalities, Nov., 1915: 539–544.)

Paper read at the 18th annual convention of the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 7, 1915. Mr. Mulholland is engineer of the Municipal Water Works of Los Angeles and builder of the recently completed aqueduct.

LYNN

CONANT (W. B.). Lynn water works improvement. (Municipal Jour., Oct. 28, 1915: 651–652, illus.)

MEDICINE HAT, SASK.

ANON. Water supply and power at Medicine Hat. (Canadian Engineer, Oct. 28, 1915: 509–514, illus.)

Medicine Hat, Sask. has undertaken a unique municipal development comprising water supply and filtration and gas-generated electrical power in one installation. The project was begun in 1912 and practically completed in 1913.

MONTREAL

ANON. Montreal water and power extensions, 5,000 words. (Canadian Engineer, Aug. 12, 1915.)

——. Montreal water works situation. (Canadian Engineer, Nov. 11, 1915: 569–572, illus.)

An outline of the entire scheme as originally constructed and of the water works extensions and power development now under discussion.

NEW YORK CITY

ANON. Old and new water works systems of New York City. 2 illus., 1,200 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Sept. 1, 1915.)

Describes old systems in use in the various boroughs and the new Catskill system.

NEW YORK CITY. Board of Water Supply. Catskill water supply. A general description. Sept., 1915. 39 pp., illus.

PITTSBURGH

ANON. Report on water conditions at Pittsburgh. 4,000 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Aug. 11, 1915.)

Supply works, pumping station, reservoirs, tanks and distribution system are described.

PORT HOPE, ONT.

ANON. Improvements to water supply at Port Hope, Ont. 1,500 words, 9 illus. (Canadian Engineer, Sept. 2, 1915.)

SALT LAKE CITY

ANON. Water improvement at Salt Lake City. 1,200 words. (Fire and Water Engrg., Aug. 18, 1915.)

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

ANON. Springfield [Ill.] water works. 1,680 words. 10 illus. (Engrg. News, Sept. 2, 1915.)

The second of a series of articles. This one gives details of routine water works operation which are unusual.

TARENTUM, PENN.

HUDSON (LEO). An interesting example of direct competition between publicly and privately owned water works plants in Tarentum, Penn. 2,500 words. (Engrg. and Contracting, Sept. 1, 1915.)

Schedule of rates.

VICTORIA, B. C.

RUST (C. H.). Sooke Lake water supply, Victoria, B. C. (Canadian Engineer, Nov. 18, 1915: 590–592, illus.)

Mr. Rust is city engineer and water commissioner of Victoria.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

HELD AT

DAYTON, OHIO, NOVEMBER 17, 18, 19, 1915

Wednesday Evening Session

Hotel Miami, Wednesday, November 17, 1915, 8 p.m.

The Rev. D. Frank Garland, director of public welfare in Dayton, in the chair, who delivered the following address of welcome:

The great state of Ohio opens her doors to-night to the members of the National Municipal League and bids them welcome. Ohio is proud of the distinction which places her among the sisterhood of states as a leader in progressive legislation. She has taken great strides forward in these recent years by providing for widows' pensions, the protection of children in industry, the creation of domestic courts, the better control of state charitable institutions, the compensation of workmen injured in the trades, and in revising her constitution. While taking other advanced steps not mentioned here she has given home rule to the cities of the state. The National Municipal League has had a share in this latter victory of the freedom of our cities and it is fitting that you should meet on your twenty-first birthday within the borders of a state that has freed her cities. Ohio, ladies and gentlemen, bids you right royal welcome.

The city of Dayton joins in this hearty greeting to-night. We are glad that you have come and we offer you during your stay with us the best we have. We are a city of homes, of churches, of schools—a city of more than a thousand factories, a city with conservative qualities and yet a city with a clear and difinite vision. That vision lures us on towards the goal—the ideal city. We have merely started on the way. We realize how far we must go ere we reach the ideal. Our friends tell us that we have thus far with your aid put in operation the best form of charter for a city yet evolved. If that be true and we are the largest city operating under this form, then we must not—we dare not fail, for that failure would do serious injury to a great and worthy cause. We are determined there shall be no failure here if devotion, and disinterested service and unmeasured sacrifice and the guiding light of wisdom can make failure impossible. We have planted our flag on new territory which we have taken after tremendous sacrifice and here that flag shall not be captured by the enemy, for we are resolved that no inch of ground gained shall ever be given up. We shall go forward towards the realization of our ideal—Dayton as good as the best in the world. We need your advice, your help, your encouragement, your wisdom and hence we rejoice to-night that you have come here to deliberate on a great theme—good government for American cities. All Dayton bids you welcone, and may you carry away with you only pleasant memories to rejoice your hearts.

The Secretary of the League, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, briefly replied to the address of welcome, pointing out that this was the fourth time the League had met in Ohio, the first annual meeting having been held in Cleveland, the fifth meeting in Columbus and the fifteenth meeting in Cincinnati. He briefly renewed the progress in municipal affairs in Ohio during that time, and referred to the example which Dayton itself was now affording in the way of a successful working out of the new city manager plan.

Mr. Woodruff then presented his annual review of municipal events entitled "American Conceptions of Municipal Government." [1]

Following this President Foulke delivered his annual address on "Coming of Age: Municipal Progress in Twenty-one Years." [2]

After the conclusion of Mr. Foulke's address, which was received with long continued applause, Professor Hatton of Cleveland spoke feelingly of the work which Mr. Foulke has done as president of the League, and of the love and esteem in which he was held by all the members. A formal resolution embodying these sentiments was unanimously adopted by a standing vote.

Thursday Morning Session.

Hotel Miami, Thursday, November 18, 1915, 10 a.m.

The annual business meeting of the National Municipal League was called to order Thursday, November 18, at 10 a.m. by President Foulke.

The first item of business was the report of the executive committee (M. N. Baker, chairman), which follows:

Report of Executive Committee

Since the Baltimore meeting the Executive committee has settled the award of the Morton D. Hull prize for 1914 to Willitts Pollock, has decided not to appoint a committee on civic education for the current year, and has supervised the work of a special committee on Intercollegiate civic division for the college year ending June 1. Thus far, funds have not been available for continuing the intercollegiate work. Committees on a federal bureau of municipal affairs and on a comprehensive campaign for new members have been appointed. The advisability of printing more pamphlets for circulation by the League is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the council. The secretary has been authorized to inquire whether those participating in this year's conference of bureau of municipal research deem it advisable to hold like conferences in the future.

To meet the exigencies of the times, the size (number of pages) of the National Municipal Review has been reduced, but it is thought that the good judgment in the selection and condensation of material shown by the editor and his associates has at least made up in quality for the decrease in the quantity of matter published.

MEMBERSHIP REPORT

Number of members reported March 31, 1915 2,576

1915	Additions	Resignations	Deaths
April	22	56	5
May	17	12	3
June	9	27	2
July	6	7	1
August	11	10	2
September	20	1	1
October	31	53	7
	116	166	21

Net membership October 31, 1915 . 2,505

Of these 7 are life members (1 complimentary) and 70 are contributing members.

The editor of the National Municipal League series reported that eight books have been published to date, with sales as follows:

City Government by Commission	2,594
Initiative, Referendum and Recall	1,956
Regulation of Municipal Utilities	1,637
The Social Center	1,927
Lower Living Costs in Cities	865
Women's Work in Municipalities	1,248
Satellite Cities	547
The City Manager	1,318

Two other books are shortly to be published, one on "City Planning," by Dr. John Nolen, and one on "Experts in Municipal Life," by H. S. Gilbertson.

Sixteen essays were submitted for the Baldwin prize on the subject "A Critical Study of the Sources of Municipal Revenue in any City Exceeding 50,000." The prize of $100 was awarded to Miss Bernice Brown, of Radcliffe College, Cambridge.

[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 1.

[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 12.

Sixty-two essays were submitted for the high school prize on the subject "Fire Prevention." The first prize of $30 was awarded to Miss Margaret Reick, Milwaukee, Wis., and the second prize of $20 to Robert F. Matthews, Louisville High School, Louisville, Ky.

Ten essays were submitted for the Cincinnati prize for the subject "The Transportation Problem in Cincinnati." The prize of $20 was awarded to Miss Cella Taylor, of the University of Cincinnati, Department of Liberal Arts.

The Portland-National Municipal League prize was awarded to David Kingsley Brace, of Reed College, Portland, Oregon, his subject being "The Family and Socialized Play."

Two essays were submitted for the Morton Denison Hull prize contest ending September 15, 1915. No award was made.

Respectfully submitted,

M. N. BAKER,
Chairman.
Montclair, N. J.

The treasurer then presented his report for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1915:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
INCOME AND EXPENSE

For the Years Ended March 31, 1914, and March 31, 1915

INCOME	*March 31, 1914*	*March 31, 1915*
Membership dues	$12,400.00	$11,797.50
Life membership dues	200.00	100.00
Contributions:		
General	2,479.20	2,976.58
N. M. REVIEW underwriting fund	1,240.00	1,470.00
Committee on civic education	2,713.80	2,022.66
Sales of Proceedings	78.50	62.00
Sales of Appleton books	90.50	79.33
Sales of NAT. MUN. REVIEW	312.86	465.29
REVIEW advertising sales	151.38	2.50
Royalties	208.07	212.47
Interest and discount	35.24	18.41
Increase in inventory	.....	.....
Bound volumes of Proceedings	113.00	131.00
Total income	$20,022.55	$19,337.74
Net loss, charge N.M.L. account	1,582.08	43.61
	$21,604.63	$19,381.35

EXPENSE			
Salaries and clerical work	$7,279.39		$7,426.08
Postage	1,795.13		1,747.17
Printing and stationery	2,198.72		1,664.61
Municipal program committee	.....	100.00	
Less increase inventory		1.00	99.00
News clippings	116.21		142.39
Clipping sheet	38.01		10.00
Office rent	750.00		750.00
Travelling expense	707.53		371.19
N. M. REVIEW, publication .. $5,073.45		$5,098.67	
Less increase inventory .. 611.87	4,461.58	638.44	4,460.23
General expense	773.35		742.79
Appleton books, cost $78.00		$54.00	
Less increase inventory .. 25.00	53.00	12.00	42.00
Cost of living committee	100.00		100.00
Advertising	.....		7.50
Committee on civic education	3,331.71		1,818.39
	$21,604.63		$19,381.35

GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.,
Treasurer.

The secretary stated that the council of the League had had the treasurer's report duly audited and that it was found to be correct.

President Foulke presented the report of the nominating committee which follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

The report of the committee on nominations consisting of Camillus G. Kidder of New York, Charles J. Bonaparte of Baltimore, C. O. Dustin of Springfield, Mass., John Ihlder of New York, and President Foulke chairman, was as follows:

President—*Lawson Purdy, New York.
Secretary—Clinton Rogers Woodruff.
Treasurer—George Burnham, Jr.
Vice-Presidents—
Miss Jane Addams, Chicago, Ill.
John Stewart Bryan, Richmond, Va.
*Richard S. Childs, New York.
*Charles W. Dabney, Cincinnati, Ohio.

*New nominations.

Vice-Presidents—

*Walter L. Fisher, Chicago.
Frank J. Goodnow, Johns Hopkins University.
A. Lawrence Lowell, Harvard University.
George McAneny, New York.
J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg, Pa.
*Robert Treat Paine, Boston, Mass.
*L. S. Rowe, Philadelphia, Pa.
Charles Richardson, Philadelphia.
Chester H. Rowell, Fresno, Cal.
Dudley Tibbetts, Troy, N. Y.

Council—

Ernest Hamlin Abbott, New York.
*Miss Grace Abbott, Chicago, Ill.
Charles W. Andrews, Syracuse, N. Y.
M. N. Baker, Montclair, N. J.
W. P. Bancroft, Wilmington, Del.
Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, Md.
John A. Butler, Milwaukee, Wis.
Harvey Stuart Chase, Boston, Mass.
Julius Henry Cohen, New York.
Mrs. B. W. Corkran, Jr., Baltimore, Md.
Dwight F. Davis, St. Louis, Mo.
George B. Dealey, Dallas, Texas.
Albert DeSilver, Brooklyn, N. Y.
*C. O. Dustin, Springfield, Mass.
Mrs. Charles Farwell Edson, Los Angeles, Cal.
Rev. William G. Eliot, Jr., Portland, Ore.
*William Dudley Foulke, Richmond, Ind.
*Charles J. France, Seattle, Wash.
Clarence L. Harper, Philadelphia, Pa.
Albert Bushnell Hart, Cambridge, Mass.
*Augustus Raymond Hatton, Cleveland, Ohio.
Raymond V. Ingersoll, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Camillus G. Kidder, New York.
*Herman G. James, Austin, Texas.
W. D. Lighthall, Montreal, Canada.
Meyer Lissner, Los Angeles, Cal.
Knowlton Mixer, Buffalo, N. Y.
Frederick Cook Morehouse, Milwaukee, Wis.
Oliver McClintock, Pittsburgh, Pa.
*T. P. Newberry, Detroit, Mich.
Elliott Hunt Pendleton, Cincinnati, Ohio.

*New nominations.

Council—

James W. S. Peters, Kansas City, Mo.
F. S. Spence, Toronto, Canada.
Howard Strong, Minneapolis, Minn.
Henry A. Toulmin, Jr., Dayton, Ohio.
A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh, Pa.
*Henry M. Waite, Dayton, Ohio.
Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia, Pa.
*James H. Wolfe, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Additional nominations were asked for. There being none, the motion was made that the secretary be directed to cast a unanimous ballot on behalf of the League, which motion was unanimously carried.

THE SECRETARY: In accordance with the instructions just given me by the meeting, I desire to report that I have cast a unanimous ballot for the officers and members of the council as recommended by the committee on nominations.

THE PRESIDENT: In accordance with the ballot cast, the list of officers and members of the council as nominated has been elected to serve for the ensuing year and until their successors qualify.

THE SECRETARY: In accordance with the usual custom I move that the council be authorized to fill any vacancies in its membership that may occur during the year.

This motion was duly adopted.

THE SECRETARY: May I at this time express my sincere appreciation of the services rendered by our retiring president and the sincere feeling of regard and affection we all hold for him? Mr. Foulke has served the League and the cause it represents with singular devotion and effectiveness, and the motion carried last evening with so much show of feeling but partly expresses our love and respect for him.

THE PRESIDENT: I can here say that every minute spent in connection with the National Municipal League has been a moment of unalloyed pleasure. To co-operate directly with the men of the League has been an equally great pleasure. I shall have something to say after retiring from the presidency in regard to the work

*New nominations.

which has been done by the secretary. I must thank you one and all for the great kindness shown to me at all times and in all places.

The next item on the program is the report of the committee on franchises,[1] which will be found printed in the appendix to the report of the committee on municipal program. Unless directed otherwise this report will go over to be taken up in connection with the report of that committee.

Robert S. Marx, Cincinnati, suggested that as the Cincinnati delegation would not be present on Friday, the matter of the franchise provisions be taken up at this morning's session if there were time.

The president then announced that these sections would be taken up for discussion at the end of the morning program, and this was accordingly done.

THE PRESIDENT: The report of the committee on municipal courts of which the Hon. Henry Olson of Chicago is chairman,[2] is one of progress and co-operation with the committee on municipal program. There will be no formal report at this session of the League.

The report of the committee on municipal reference libraries (Dr. Charles C. Williamson, municipal reference librarian of New York, chairman) will be read by Mr. Ferdinand H. Graser of Philadelphia:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES.

Previous reports of this committee have laid special emphasis on the desirability of establishing local municipal reference libraries, with recommendations as to the best form of organization. Its suggestions and recommendations have been widely adopted.* A municipal reference library is now generally looked upon as an indispensable adjunct to efficient municipal government. Your committee feels that the League should now use its influence, not so much in securing the organization of more local libraries, as in promoting the efficiency of those already established, through some central co-operative agency which will be able at the same time to provide an efficient service for cities which are too small, or for other reasons are unable, to develop a local service of their own.

The need of a central clearing house of municipal information has grown still more urgent since attention was called to the subject in the report of this committee presented to the Richmond meeting in 1911. Last year the Special libraries association appointed a special committee, identical in personnel with this committee —Mr. Woodruff being chairman—to make investigations and recommendations looking toward the establishment of a national center for municipal information.

Of the need for such an organization there can be no doubt. There is scarcely a city of more than a few thousand population that does not have one or more public or private agencies engaged in collecting information to be applied to the solution of local municipal problems. Municipal reference libraries, bureaus of municipal research, bureaus of efficiency, civic organizations and organizations devoted to the study and solution of special problems are everywhere seeking the latest available data as to the methods and experience of other cities in this and foreign countries.

In all this activity there occurs a vast amount of duplicated and wasted effort. A well equipped central co-operating agency would be able to secure far better results with a much smaller expenditure of energy and money. The situation demands a central national bureau which would undertake as its main functions:

[1] Committee on Franchises: Robert Treat Paine, Boston; James W. S. Peters, Kansas City, Mo.; Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, Albany; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, New York, chairman.

[2] Committee on Municipal Courts; Wilfred Bolster, Boston; Herbert Harley, Chicago; Prof. Roscoe Pound, Harvard University; Hon. W. A. Ransom, New York; Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia; Hon. Henry Olson, Chicago, chairman.

The revised draft of the model municipal court act has just been published. Copies may be secured from the secretary of the Committee, Herbert Harley, Esq., First National Bank Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

1. To collect all municipal documents, reports and other material of value bearing on municipal problems.

2. To prepare and publish promptly such indices and guides to this material as will enable local libraries and all who are interested in municipal matters to select and procure, without waste of time and energy, whatever they need for their own use.

3. To serve as a clearing house for the interests and activities of local libraries and similar agencies, so that it will not happen, as at present, that many of them put forth much effort in securing results which have already been obtained by others, and could be had for the asking.

4. And, specifically, to collect and index city ordinances.

5. To use its staff of expert investigators and its stores of information in answering inquiries from local libraries, city officials and other sources.

Certain of these functions are already performed to a limited extent for the cities of a number of states by municipal reference bureaus conducted by state leagues of municipalities, state libraries, state universities, etc. The multiplication of these state-wide agencies, however, only increases the demand for a national bureau through which their activities can be co-ordinated. The proposal for the establishment of a national bureau is not designed to supplant the local or even the state-wide agencies, but merely to make their work more efficient by aiding in that part of their service which can best be performed by an agency which is nation-wide in its scope.

Should the proposed national bureau be organized and maintained as a voluntary co-operative agency, or should it be governmental in character? This is a fundamental question to which the committee has given careful consideration. The only efforts made so far in this direction are of the former type. The most promising experiment of this sort is the Public affairs information service, begun originally by Mr. John A. Lapp, and now conducted by the H. W. Wilson company. While the committee is heartily agreed that this service fills a real need and deserves all possible support and encouragement, it is of the opinion that the functions outlined for a national municipal information bureau are, on the whole, of such a nature that they can be performed adequately only by some governmental agency. The necessity of making a profit out of the service, or even of making it pay its way, will, for a long time at least, greatly restrict its usefulness or even prevent its establishment at all. Whatever the agency is to be, it must be able to command a high degree of confidence in its ability and disinterestedness, so that public and private bodies and individuals everywhere will recognize the desirability of lending their co-operation. It must command the confidence not only of those from whom information must be sought, but also of those in need of it. The difficulties inherent in any attempt to bring together in one co-operative organization the local and state governments of the whole country, as well as the libraries, the educational institutions, and the great variety of voluntary organizations which should be interested, and upon which the organization would have to depend for financial support, seem to be insuperable. Any suggestion of support from private endowment may also be dismissed as impractical. Such considerations as these force your committee to the conclusion that the functions of a national bureau of municipal information, are essentially governmental and cannot be performed efficiently by a voluntary co-operative association or by any kind of a commercial organization.

It has been suggested that perhaps one of the existing municipal reference libraries would be willing to enlarge its scope so that it could serve as a national bureau. Such a plan we do not think should be seriously considered. Even if the taxpayers of any city or state were willing to shoulder the expense without complaint, it is clear that the usefulness of the service would be seriously impaired by local jealousies and prejudices. No city or state

is likely to make full use of a service established and maintained by a city in another part of the country. Moreover, the work of any local bureau would be in constant danger of interruption from change of administration or failing interest.

None of these disadvantages would, however, attach to a bureau maintained in the city of Washington by, or under the auspices of, the national government. As a branch of the federal government it would command the necessary respect and confidence. It would also be in a better position than any state or city bureau to collect reports and information from foreign cities. Already many of the departments of the national government are engaged in work of great value to municipalities. These services could most readily be co-ordinated and made fully available by a national bureau located in Washington.

After carefully weighing every suggestion which has come to it from any source, the committee has reached the conclusion that the most efficient service with the smallest expenditure of money could be expected from a municipal reference bureau organized under the library of congress. A division in the bureau of the census, as has also been suggested, might enjoy certain advantages, but important disadvantages have also been pointed out.

The most successful local municipal reference bureaus have been organized as branches of the public libraries. Valuable service is also being performed in many states by legislative reference bureaus maintained by state libraries. The library of congress has been conspicuously successful in co-operating with local public libraries in general library functions, so that it has become natural for the country to look to it to extend that co-operation into this special field of library service. The public libraries in most of the larger cities have organized some special service to promote efficient municipal government. A central bureau in the library of congress would be able to bring them all together in an organization of the highest type of efficiency.

The committee believes that the work required can be performed more economically in the library of congress than in any other department of the federal government. It should, in the first place, be undertaken by some large institution which is in a position to receive and care for the wide range of publications required in the service. Under any other auspices it would prove very costly for it would be necessary to duplicate the vast collection of material which now exists in the library of congress, and which will continue to accumulate there. The collections and the general organization of the library of congress are at hand. The service proposed represents, in a large part, but an extension of activities now carried on by the division of documents and the division of bibliography.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the National Municipal League should take steps at once to bring this matter to the attention of members of congress and urge upon them the desirability of granting to the library of congress a special appropriation sufficient to enable it to establish a municipal reference division to serve as a central co-operating agency for the municipal reference libraries and similar organizations of the entire country.

Signed

JOHN COTTON DANA,
HORACE E. FLACK,
SAMUEL H. RANCK,
CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
CHARLES C. WILLIAMSON, *Chairman*.

November 16, 1915.

THE PRESIDENT: We will now hear from Mr. A. L. Winship, secretary of the Boston city club and chairman of the committee on civic secretaries with regard to the work of that committee.

MR. WINSHIP: This committee was formed five years ago with John Ihlder of New York. Later Elliott H. Goodwin, then of New York, now of Washington, was the first elected chairman. Two years later the present officers were chosen, Hornell Hart, secretary of the Milwaukee

city club, being secretary, and Miss H. Marie Dermitt of Pittsburgh, treasurer. We have 40 members, and had a meeting last night with 27 persons present. We recommend that on future programmes more time be given for the discussion of the important questions related to these various civic bodies. We are planning the formation of a bureau, under the leadership of Mr. Hart, to arrange speaking tours throughout the country of those competent to speak on municipal problems.

The points touched upon in Mr. Winship's oral report are to be found embodied in the report of the secretary of the committee which follows the report of the meeting of the League.

THE PRESIDENT: The committee on bibliography, Miss Adelaide R. Hasse of the department of documents, New York Public Library, chairman,[1] is next in order.

Miss Hasse submitted the following report: "Your committee on civic bibliography has only to report its existence. It has been organized too recently to make a report of any other accomplishment possible. It is looking forward to a life of useful effort in the interests of the League and what the League stands for." ADELAIDE R. HASSE, *Chairman.*

THE SECRETARY: The committee on city and county consolidation[2] is still at work, but will have no formal report to make at this session of the League.

THE PRESIDENT: At this time we will have a report from the committee on the relation of the city to its food supply (Prof. Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania, chairman).[3]

[1] Committee on National Civic Bibliography: Andrew Linn Bostwick, St. Louis; James McKirdy, Harrisburg; Hon. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, Harrisburg; Joseph Wright, Harvard University; Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, New York, chairman.

[2] Committee on City and County Consolidation: Richard Henry Dana, Cmabridge, Mass.; Dr. Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania; Winston Paul, New York; Mark L. Requa, Oakland, Cal.; H. S. Gilbertson, East Orange, N.J., chairman.

[3] Committee on the Relation of the City to Its Food Supply: Arthur J. Anderson, Editor, *Pennsylvania Farmer;* C. M. Arthur, New Brunswick, N. J.; H. B. Fullerton, Medford, Long Island, N. Y.; Cyrus C. Miller, Borough of the Bronx, New York; Paul E. Work, Cornell University; Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania, chairman.

Dr. King submitted the following report: "In the past year the committee has prepared and published a general report upon the relation of the city to its food supply. This report was published as a special pamphlet by the League. The committee has limited its investigations this year to public markets—their costs and results. As a basis for this study several hundred printed questionnaires have been sent to as many different cities. A number of complete replies have been received. A written report based on these and similar sources will shortly be sent to the secretary of the League." CLYDE L. KING, *Chairman.*

THE PRESIDENT: The report of the committee on new sources of revenue will now be presented by Prof. William A. Rawles of the University of Indiana.

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW SOURCES OF REVENUE

The committee of the National Municipal League on new sources of revenue desires at this time to submit only a brief preliminary report. The short time which has transpired since its appointment has proved insufficient for a full consideration of many of the important and complicated problems which present themselves. Nevertheless, through the discussions at the two meetings which have been held and through correspondence, it was found that there are a considerable number of questions upon which there is unanimity of opinion and it was decided that a report setting forth the recommendations of the committee on these points might profitably be made at this time, the more difficult problems being reserved for treatment in a report to be submitted later.

The General Property Tax.—Even in those regions which are not greatly advanced in their economic development, the general property tax has demonstrated its insufficiency. But it is in the cities of considerable size that the system has broken down most lamentably. At the precise point where it has been desirable to make great demands upon it, there it has been found to be least dependable.

Partly in consequence of the increased temptation to evasion due to the size of the demands which it has been necessary to make and partly because of the relative ease of evasion as economic conditions have become more complex, personal property has largely disappeared from the tax rolls of those cities which attempt to assess it under the unmodified general property tax system. Your committee is convinced that attempts to rejuvenate the old system by a more strict administration would be a misdirection of energy and foredoomed to failure. No attempt should be made to tax personal property at full rates under the old system.

The Real Estate Tax.—As one result of the breakdown of the general property tax, real estate has been called upon to carry a larger share of the burden. In the first place, your committee is of the opinion that there is a crying need for improvement in the administration of this portion of our tax system. In the second place, it believes that in spite of the high rates now present in some places, the land rent in our growing cities can, through some skillfully designed form of the increment tax, be made to yield an increased revenue. In those cities which are enjoying an unusually rapid and even growth, the regular annual tax rate on land may usually be increased somewhat to advantage. It is believed that the real estate tax will remain for an indefinite period the backbone of the municipal revenue system, but there is an evident need for supplementary sources of revenue.

The accurate assessment of real estate is of great importance. In most of our cities the assessments are made in an exceedingly haphazard and inexact fashion. The valuation of real estate for taxation is work for experts and unfortunately the conditions now existing in many municipalities do not tend to encourage the assessors to make themselves more efficient. Your committee recommends that assessors be chosen for long terms on the basis of merit and fitness. By the payment of adequate salaries the positions should be made more attractive to capable men. Assessment districts should be made large enough to permit the assessor to devote his entire time to the work. In rapidly developing communities such as ours, periodical assessments are not suitable. The assessment work should be continuous and an attempt made to keep the valuations always accurate. Land value and tax maps and unit values for assessing buildings should be generally adopted. The separate assessment of lands and buildings is particularly urged as a means of promoting accuracy. The full market value of the land should always be the test used for determining assessment values. Where separation of the sources of state and local revenues is not in effect, sufficient central control should be exercised to protect municipalities from being penalized by an unfairly heavy share of state taxes because of full-value assessments. As an aid to securing full-value assessments, legislation should be passed requiring the statement of the true consideration in deeds.

In regard to the problem of securing outside assistance in assessment work, which is acute in many cities, your committee believes that every facility should be provided which tends to train assessors and to increase their efficiency. Provision should be made for the employment of such expert assistance as will accomplish this result. It is believed that it is not advisable, however, to delegate the assessment work itself to any outside commercial agency. The assistance should be only of the type which aims to promote the knowledge and ability of the assessor himself.

Exemption of Improvements from Taxation.—Considered from the point of view of revenue, the plan of exempting improvements from taxation does not offer any considerable promise. Your committee believes in the special taxation of land values and in a situation where sufficient funds can be obtained without involving a confiscatory tax on land values, the proposal to reduce the tax on buildings might be worthy of favorable consideration. Buildings, however, are not improper subjects of taxation. On

the contrary, they are superior to many other subjects now in use.

Possible Supplements to the Real Estate Tax.—In the opinion of the committee the most promising methods of reaching tax-paying ability other than that reached through the tax on real estate are the following: an income tax (state administered); a habitation and business tax; and light rate on intangible personal property. The details of these plans are reserved for further consideration.

Poll Tax.—The poll tax, where it still remains, should be abandoned as a source of municipal revenue.

Payments for Privileges.—Great care should be exercised to insure that the municipality receives full remuneration for the various privileges and rights it confers and for property it may rent, *e.g.* vaults, street obstructions, newsstand privileges, etc., etc.

Limitations on Tax Rates and Indebtedness.—Provision should be made in each municipality whereby a locally elected official or board of officials assumes responsibility for the rate of taxation. In those municipalities where such control is present, legal limitations on the tax rate of taxation should be removed. On the other hand, debt for unproductive enterprises should be strictly limited.

Semi-Annual Collections.—In the larger cities particularly, the collection of taxes in two installments instead of one would result in considerable saving in interest charges and in substantial relief to some taxpayers. On the other hand, in places where the taxes are very light or the parcels of taxable property very small, the additional expense of the extra collection might not be justified by the advantages to be secured by its adoption.

Among the subjects upon which the committee is at present unprepared to present an opinion are the following: the extent to which special assessments should be utilized and the methods which should be used in their administration; the type of business tax best adapted to conditions in American cities; the proper form for the income tax in those places where it is deemed necessary; the details of the increment tax; and the question as to what constitutes a confiscatory tax on land. Any suggestions or assistance which may be forthcoming from the members of the League will be greatly appreciated.

November 8, 1915.

WALTER H. ARNDT.
MAYO FESLER.
PROF. WILLIAM A. RAWLES.
HERBERT S. SWAN.
DR. C. C. WILLIAMSON.
DR. ROBERT MURRAY HAIG,
Chairman.

PROFESSOR RAWLES: I wish to state that this is a preliminary, and not a final report.

F. S. SMEDES, *Cincinnati:* I should like to ask what is meant by the words "habitation tax."

PROFESSOR RAWLES: The habitation tax is based on the theory that there is a way to reach the tax-paying ability of persons other than by means of direct tax on income; that one evidence of man's ability to pay taxes is determined by the amount of rent he pays. The habitation tax is a tax upon individuals on a basis of the rental value of the property which he occupies. It is a tax upon occupiers, not owners. The details, as the report states, have not been worked out. I have not been able to attend these meetings and I do not know what your members on the committee have in mind, but this is the idea in my own mind. The proposition was submitted a few years ago by Professor E. R. A. Seligman and other members of the special tax commission of the State of New York. It was offered as a substitute for an income tax. The tax might be graded. In the first place, for example, say persons who pay in the rural communities not to exceed $200 in rent, and in the cities it might be higher, then above that all of the rental which is paid say up to $1,000 might be subject to tax of 1 per cent. Those persons who pay rental from $1,000 to $3,000 might be subject to a tax of 1½ per cent and so on. I might say that this

system is in use in some of the European cities. I should say Birmingham, in England, is especially noted for the use it makes of this; it is used in Toronto and Montreal. The habitation tax is a tax upon the occupier which is based upon the rental which he pays for the house he occupies.

HORNELL HART, *Milwaukee:* Revenue in cities is used for two purposes: first for carrying on the activities of government and second, for constructing permanent improvements. I believe this is a question worthy of study, I recognize this method of taxation would be attended with a vast number of difficulties, and yet it seems to me it ought to be possible to work out a method. It is necessary for a city having its own electric lighting system and street railway system to secure funds with which to build these works; to my mind the inheritance tax is an ideal way of securing funds to build a city.

GEORGE E. HOOKER, *Chicago:* I was curious to know what the committee had in mind in recommending that full value should be exacted by the city for grants of privileges made by the city to provide business undertakings. We, in Chicago, are receiving into the public treasury about two million dollars a year from the street car system, and in fact it is the street car riders who pay a considerable large part of the city expenses. Those who do not ride on the street cars or just occasionally do not contribute. We raise a much larger sum from the people who patronize the saloons and the money paid in by the proprietor of the saloons for the privilege of carrying on the saloon business. I mention these two examples because it is desirable that the one form of business should be extended as much as possible, and the other curtailed.

HARRISON G. OTIS, *Beaufort, S. C.:* There seems no reason why the bill board should not be taxed in proportion to its rental value. It is a source of income and should yield revenue to the public which creates that value. St. Louis in 1910 estimated the annual business of bill boards there at $500,000. The city got $30 from bill boards. A tax of 3¢ per square foot is reasonable and would doubtless be held constitutional. Such a tax would yield St. Louis $40,000 a year. The concerns advertising are usually outside companies which pay no taxes.

F. S. SPENCE, *Toronto:* In regard to the habitation tax being used in Toronto and Montreal, the term would hardly apply as being used there. We have what we call a business tax, from which the habitation tax is excluded; taxes are levied only upon property used for business purposes and on which there is an investment outside of the real estate. The plan is generally to add to the regular tax a fixed percentage, which varies from 10 to 100 per cent according to the character of the business carried on. We are forced to take some money from the people in business and in public service, but don't believe in taking anything out of the pockets of street car riders to lighten the burden of the property owners.

A. LEO WEIL, *Pittsburgh:* Some years ago when one of our large organizations contemplated building a city, I happened to be called into consultation and a suggestion was made as one of the plans for receiving revenue that the city reserve a portion of every new addition taken into the city and that it keep this land for its use as a revenue producer. That particular city grew to very large proportions, and had such a measure been adopted I would have had more information on the subject. It was not adopted at the time for the reason those in charge of the organization felt it was not wise to lend credit to such a wild-eyed fad as what they said was the single-tax theory. It occurred to me to suggest this to the committee for consideration, as our cities are from time to time making new streets and laying out new plats requiring extension of gas, electric lighting and rapid transit facilities, and some plan might be worked out by which there might be a new source of revenue that might be added to our municipalities.

DR. FAIRLIE: The question has been

raised as to whether a city should receive payment for public utility and other privileges, or should reduce the rates to the consumers. It is not always feasible to fix rates exactly at a point where there will be no surplus value; and wherever there is a surplus the city should be able to get the benefit.

Another suggestion is that the city could save interest by having taxes paid semi-annually instead of annually. The difficulty with that plan is that most cities now have need for all their taxes as soon as they come in. If taxes were made payable semi-annually by postponing the payment of half the amount for six months, the cities would have to borrow and pay interest. Of course if one half the taxes were collected six months earlier, the city could save interest; but in Illinois, at least, the whole year's taxes are now due as soon as the tax books are ready; and it is not easy to see how they could be made ready six months earlier.

Mr. Smedes, *Cincinnati:* In Ohio we pay taxes twice a year on the 20th of December and the 20th of June and if not paid within that time a penalty must be paid. It is surely a great convenience to certain classes of people. I can say in answer to the gentleman from Illinois, where people pay ten or fifteen thousand dollars they can save interest on that much money; in these days everything is done on a small margin and the interest on ten, fifteen or twenty-five thousand dollars for six months is quite a source of revenue. Last night I attended a banquet at the Hotel Sinton in Cincinnati where the talk was to raise up a set of men of greater efficiency to serve the public in public offices. It seems to me what we need is, as the men said there, a greater number of efficient men who ought to be able to suggest a new source of income. There is no question but the demands of the public requiring greater income to growing cities are increasing rapidly. Every day something is being put into operation which requires larger funds, but as our municipalities are now conducted there is a great deal of waste and if we could direct our attention more to economical administrations of our cities, we would have more of an income to meet these demands, we could give better service to the public and try to ferret new ways of getting money. As to the habitation tax, I must say it does not meet with my approval. I have always advocated we ought to take all the burden off of the home we can. If I had my way about it I would take every cent of taxes off of the homes. We ought to encourage in every way we can the building of more homes and it seems the habitation tax would have a tendency to do away with that.

Lieut. C. P. Shaw, *Norfolk, Va.:* As I understand this habitation tax is not so much a tax on the house one lives in as it is a means of getting at the income of the person living in the house at a certain rental. Professor Seligman proposed it as a substitute for the income tax, which has been described by one distinguished economist as a means of raising hypocrites and liars.

Oliver McClintock, *Pittsburgh:* I desire to move that we send a message to the conference on welfare and efficiency meeting to-day in Harrisburg, Pa.

Mr. McClintock then read the following resolution which was adopted:

The twenty-first annual conference of the National Municipal League, in session at Dayton, Ohio, sends greeting to his excellency Governor Martin G. Brumbaugh and the third Pennsylvania welfare efficiency and engineering conference in session at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. We understand your purpose to be both the development of the natural resources and the securing of the best expert knowledge for promoting the welfare and efficiency of the manufacturing industries of Pennsylvania. The purpose of the National Municipal League is to promote good municipal government in the United States and Canada.

Although operating in different fields, we are comrades in a common cause, and strive for the same end—the welfare and betterment of the people.

THE PRESIDENT: We will now hear from Mr. George Burnham, Jr., chairman of the committee on budgets and accounting.[1]

MR. BURNHAM: The committee agreed unanimously that the form of budget as proposed by the bureau of municipal research of the city of New York should be adopted as the guide for preparing the general budget. Of course, it was recognized that the complexities of this metropolitan budget would not be applicable to all cities, but there were certain essential principles involved in that book which seemed to us a very desirable condition for any uniform budget. The committee then assigned to several of its members the preparation of model budgets for three or four cities along the lines proposed for New York City by the bureau of municipal research. One of these has been handed in, by L. D. Upson, for the city of Dayton. The other two have not yet come in—in one case partly by reason of the serious continued illness of the member to whom it was assigned. We are going ahead, and report progress at this time.

THE PRESIDENT: The report of the committee on immigration will be postponed until this afternoon. The report of the committee on franchises will now be taken up and Alfred Bettman, former city solicitor of Cincinnati, will read the draft.

As each section was read by Mr. Bettman, there were various comments made, mostly of a technical character, all of which were referred to the committee on franchises for further consideration.

In the opinion of Mr. Johnson Thurston of Toledo, thirty years was entirely too long a period for a public utility franchise. He was opposed to the posting of a copy of the franchise in public places, saying "I should want it to be pretty mild weather when done, if a person has to stand on the corner to read and study such a franchise. I would recommend that copies be sent to each voter of the city for his private and frequent reference. We have just gone through a franchise fight in Toledo, and I know something about the matter."

[1] Committee on Municipal Budgets and Accounting: Harvey S. Chase, Boston; Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, New York; William A. Prendergast, New York; L. D. Upson, Dayton; George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia, chairman.

Hotel Miami, Thursday, November 18, 1915 1 p.m.

REMARKS RE FINANCIAL PROVISIONS OF THE "MODEL CITY CHARTER"

LENT D. UPSON, *Executive Secretary National Cash Register Co.*

The inclusion in a model municipal charter of sections relating to financial administration is notable progress, for only during the last three or four years has any extended attention been given by charter makers to those features of government. This development may be the result of a larger appreciation of the tools of government irrespective of the form which uses them. The methods by which a city collects and disburses public funds and accounts for these transactions are most important features in the securing of adequate administration—no matter what the type of government may be. An administration may have the loftiest of ideals for improving the living conditions of the people by providing better and cleaner streets, adequate fire and police protection, health service, wholesome recreation, etc., but if these functions are not founded upon sound financing and accounting, they will sooner or later be curtailed by the depletion of public revenues. The finance provisions of the model charter are evidently designed to meet this recognized need of a firm foundation, and if they are open to criticism, it is not on broad principles but upon the detailed application of certain sections. And it seems almost a misplacement of good intentions to take a public occasion to suggest modifications of this character. Yet the very importance of these financial sections should prompt a thorough consideration, particularly by that group whose interest in this phase of government is supported by field experience.

To proceed: among the duties of the director of finance as outlined by this charter are the purchasing, custody, and distribution of supplies, a feature common to most cities having purchasing departments. In private business, however, it is questionable if these functions would be delegated to the comptroller. Certainly this officer should not have the inspection of supplies purchased. If for practical purposes, the inspection of supplies must be done by the director of finance, it should be delegated to a separate bureau in the finance department, and not be directly connected with the purchasing division.

Another important section is that outlining the character of accounts which shall be kept by the director of finance, and which embodies the familiar phrase—accounts "shall be adequate to record all transactions affecting the acquisition, custody, and disposition of values." This requirement is amplified by mentioning specifically an accounting for accrued revenues and liabilities as well as a record of cash receipts and disbursements. However, it is a far cry between specifying in a general way the character of an accounting system and the actual installation of that system, for directors of finance are usually busy with daily routine. It might be expedient to mention specifically the kind of financial reports that shall be prepared, for example—a balance sheet over bond funds, trust funds, operating funds, an appropriation statement as well as a consolidated balance sheet, a revenue and expense statement, surplus statement, etc. —reports which will require the installation of an adequate accounting system.

A further requirement, dictated by the experience of several cities, should be the fixing of a definite time limit on the accounting installation, and providing that reports be made monthly.

The sections relating to the annual budget and the appropriation ordinance suggest a number of points and a discussion too extended for a brief paper. However, the following questions may bring out the differences in opinion and experience:

1. How long before the beginning of the fiscal year should the budget be submitted to the council? The best of intentions are wrecked in budget making, and no matter how much time may be allotted for the making of this document, there are almost always circumstances which militate against a prompt preparation.

2. Is it expedient to provide for a classification of estimates which "shall be as *nearly* uniform as possible"? The qualification "nearly" was deliberately placed in the Dayton charter in order to permit hedging should the rulings of the state bureau of accounting (which did not permit of a uniform classification) take precedence over the charter provisions. Unfortunately the Dayton charter has been used so often as a model that this phrase has been written into practically all of the newer city charters. Yet if a classification is to be of serious value, it must be uniform in its application, requiring departments to talk about needs in terms common to all.

3. Are we quite convinced that the information specified in the budget is that which will be most helpful to the city manager and to the administrators in the preparation of the appropriation ordinance? Are the comparative data taken over a sufficient number of periods? Are statements of appropriations necessary when actual expenditures are given? Should a statement of supplies and materials on hand be included?

4. Is it the concensus of opinion that cities can on the first of the year practically budget all improvements to be made from bonds, and should such budgeting be specifically required?

5. What should be included in "a statement of the financial condition of a city"? Since the character of documents making up a modern budget are generally agreed upon, might they not be specified in the charter, rather than leaving their selection to the city manager?

6. In small cities should the budget estimates be printed and distributed; or would the desired end be secured by placing the originals on deposit where interested citizens may see them? Should pro-

vision be made for publication of the appropriation ordinance?

7. Should the council only be permitted to reduce or reject items in the budget and not be allowed to increase the estimates of the manager? Certainly this section is not based upon American procedure, if New York City is excepted. In a certain sense, it grants powers to the city manager which should not be given to an appointed officer; and from a practical viewpoint, the manager, being the creature of the city council and being human, will probably well assure himself that the proposed budget meets with the approval of the commission. Furthermore, it seems absurd that the city manager should be able to dictate to the commission the relative needs of city activities. It would be unfortunate if owing to a provision in the charter the city government were helpless when a city manager neglected the health and safety of the citizen body in order, for example, that there might be well repaired and clean streets.

Under the clause relating to the assessment of property, it might be suggested that an optional section be included, allowing classification of property for purposes of taxation if the city so wishes and the state constitution and laws permit. There is such a decided movement in this country towards a more equitable taxation of land values and personal property that it seems expedient to recognize it.

The section relating to bond issues might well provide for the enactment of an ordinance specifying the probable life of each utility for which it is customary to borrow money. This will remove from the director of finance the responsibility of making haphazard guesses at the probable life of fire apparatus, sewers, automobile equipment, etc., in order that bond issues may be retired accordingly. Further, the requirement for a two-thirds vote of the council on bond issues seems excessive. Two-thirds of five is relatively a good many.

The permitting of temporary loans in anticipation of taxes raises another problem. In Massachusetts and Ohio, such loans are no longer legal, except where they have previously existed. It is suggested that provision be made for certain emergency bond issues in the case of epidemics, etc., and that temporary loans (except where already existing) be prohibited.

It is possible that the section relating to contracts and purchases is not so worded as to provide that after bonds are issued the work may be done either by contract or by city labor. Frequently, in Dayton, the legal department does not read into the charter the thoughts of the men who wrote it, and it might be well to have a section of this kind most explicit. In this connection, a well-thought-out clause providing for a purchasing agent, who shall purchase all supplies and equipment, and certain services other than personal might be valuable.

Almost the last section of the chapter contains the requirement that all warrants shall be countersigned by the city manager. A city manager is a pretty busy man, and it seems unnecessary that he should be required to sign a large miscellany of vouchers and warrants. It might be well, however, should he be required to sign either vouchers or warrants which are over a certain sum or which are for other than ordinary purposes. The test is: what good is it going to do if he does sign them all and what harm if he doesn't? Certainly, if the city is going to be robbed, it will be done through short weights and poor quality of goods and high prices rather than by any failure of the city manager to sign a paper which he knows little about.

As regards audit, it has been suggested by many that a continuous audit be made of all fiscal transactions of the city rather than an annual audit. It is further suggested that these audits be done by private accounting firms rather than be left to state authorities. The governments of our states are not of such a high character that their departments of accountancy have much to give in the way of constructive criticism to the more progressive cities. On the contrary, outside of the limited sphere of auditing, state

authorities may be a handicap rather than a help.

There is no section relating particularly to special assessments, and probably it is the intention of the authors that this subject is to be left as an administrative matter to be decided by city ordinance. That is a happy circumstance. Dayton has gotten herself into irritating difficulties by pilfering too freely from the special assessment provisions of another city charter. As long as there are lawyers there will be ways out, but it is unfortunate if matters of this kind become a part of the organic law, where they cannot easily be changed. In fact, the League might render a valuable service should this charter be supplemented with an administrative code. This code should suggest to cities proper ordinances relating to the administration of assessments, purchasing, health, sanitation, building, etc.

These are some casual thoughts arising from a hurried examination of this chapter on city accounting. Perhaps some of the criticisms and suggestions are founded upon local prejudice rather than wide experience. Others may result from the chronic difference of opinion among municipal accountants and near-accountants. All are advanced tentatively for discussion, and with a sound appreciation of the splendid work which the committee on the difficult subject of municipal accounting has done.

Thursday Afternoon Session

Hotel Miami, Thursday, November 18, 1915, 3 p.m.

President Charles W. Dabney, of the University of Cincinnati, a vice-president of the League, in the chair.

Vice-president Dabney: The first thing to be taken up this afternoon according to the program is a paper on "The Progress of Home Rule in Ohio," to be read by Mayo Fesler, secretary of the Cleveland civic league.

Mr. Fesler then read his paper on "Progress of Home Rule in Ohio," which will be published in the April issue of the National Municipal Review.

Vice-president Dabney: We will now take up the interesting subject of the proportional representation election in Ashtabula on November 2, to be presented by Professor Augustus Raymond Hatton, of Western Reserve University, who was present at the election.

Professor Hatton then read a paper entitled,[1] "The Ashtabula Plan — The Latest Step in Municipal Organization."

The reading of the paper was followed by an animated discussion which has been summarized by C. G. Hoag, of Haverford, Pa., the secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.[2]

Vice-president Dabney: The report of the Committee on Immigration will now be presented by Joseph Mayper of New York.

Mr. Mayper then read the following report of the Committee on Immigration:[3]

Report of the Committee on Immigration.

The great conflict of the races in Europe has had, during the past year, a decided positive effect on our own country's efforts to secure, through the fusion of the many races residing in this country, a strong united nation. Fundamentally committed to the principle that "all men are created free and equal," America, a free democracy, has become the hope and inspiration of the world. Until this year, we were unconscious of the fact that international intrigue could disturb our own domestic peace through industrial unrest and incendiarism based on old world racial differences and dislikes. But the European war has swept the country with a patriotic impulse, which has made us alive to the insidious dangers lurking in the midst of our large racial groups herded together on the outskirts of our cities and industrial communities, and permitted to live their own lines in their own ways, without the

[1] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 56.
[2] See National Municipal Review, vol. v, p. 63.
[3] The Committee on Immigration consists of: Mary Antin, New York; Julius Henry Cohen, New York; D. E. Cole, Cleveland; Dr. Frederic C. Howe, New York; Julius Rosenwald, Chicago; Miss Frances A. Kellor, New York, chairman. Mr. Mayper is one of Miss Kellor's assistants.

contact of Americanizing influences and without a participation in the duties, privileges and obligations of American citizens.

How extensively does the immigrant affect the life of our cities? Must he be considered in any plan of municipal betterment? Let us see. Of the more than 13,000,000 foreign born in the United States, 72 per cent (9,761,427) reside in our cities. Our municipalities have been called "the melting pot" of our nation, but the enormous and continuous supply of raw material has made the fusion of our many different races with their many varying traditions not quite as complete as is the general belief. Of the 6,646,817 foreign born men of voting age in America, only 45 per cent (3,034,117) are naturalized, which means that more than 3,500,000 able-bodied male residents are not subject to call in case of dire national need. Again in the 22 cities, having over 250,000 residents each, there is a combined population of 12,580,843. Of this number 684,900, or 55 out of every 1,000, are illiterates, and out of every 100 of these 90 are foreign born. Although there can be no industrial efficiency with illiteracy, our efforts to eliminate illiteracy have lagged away behind our industrial growth. Vitally connected with industrial efficiency in America is the ability to speak English. Here again, we find industrial *inefficiency*, the sign language, which always causes misunderstandings and accidents, being the only medium of communication in many departments of our factories. In 1910, of the more than 13,000,000 foreign born whites in this country, 2,953,011 persons ten years of age and over could not speak the English language. This becomes quite significant when we learn that no non-English-speaking person can become a naturalized citizen of the United States.

Is the assimilation of immigrants a spontaneous product? Is it all to be left to the immigrant? Has America any responsibilities? Does an American pay envelope make an American workman? Does the fact of living and working here make a man an American—a good resident, an American citizen? Can we have a united country, can we indeed have *one nation*, wherein many of the thirteen million foreign born residents do not use our language, are not citizens, do not follow our social customs or cherish our social and patriotic ideals? Can they know our language if they are given no opportunity to learn it? Can they know our ways if they have no American contact except the job? Can they become citizens if not one in ten of them can reach facilities for attaining the requirements for naturalization—a knowledge of English and civics?

The past year's events aroused the nation to this situation and it needed but a spark to set off a widespread campaign of Americanization. When the National Americanization Day Committee was organized in June, 1915, the suggestion that cities hold public receptions to welcome all newly naturalized citizens, swept like wildfire throughout the country, and 106 cities responded with quickly arranged city-wide "Americanization" receptions on our own Independence day. For the first time in the history of the country was such widespread interest in each other aroused among natives and foreign born, among old and new citizens. From Boston to Seattle and from Minneapolis to New Orleans—every section of the country was included. Philadelphia popularized the idea of official receptions to new citizens through President Wilson's memorable message of humanity and peace, then the Baltimore city club organized a "new voters' day"; 106 cities followed with Americanization celebrations on July 4, and New York City, the most recent, had its "first voters' day" on October 29. No city, however, except Cincinnati, has as yet followed the lead of Los Angeles, where night school certificates are practically accepted by the courts as meeting the educational requirements of the naturalization law, and of Cleveland, where receptions are held monthly to all new citizens admitted during the prior month.

But great as was the enthusiasm and widespread the interest, the by-products of the celebrations, which are constantly gaining in volume and importance, have

exhibited a real national concept of Americanization. The most important of these by-products have been developed in Detroit, and in Syracuse, where, through the local chamber of commerce, "English language first" campaigns were organized, in which the support of every important industrial, commercial, religious, official, educational, patriotic, racial, charitable, social and civic agency was secured to stimulate the attendance of the non-English-speaking residents in the public evening schools. Hand bills and circulars in the most important foreign languages were distributed freely in factories, plants, homes, churches, schools, libraries and offices, and on the streets and at meeting places. Industries and co-operating agencies were circularized and every force at any time coming in contact with the immigrant was urged to bring forcibly to his attention the need of learning the English language. The city as a whole, urged him to "go to night school at once" so that he could learn the English language, become an American citizen, and incidentally increase his opportunity for a better job. Even the school children participated. Each child of foreign born parents took home a neat folder, telling his parents, in their own language, why and where to go to learn English. The English and foreign language press supported these campaigns vigorously, while many of the most important foreign and racial societies enthusiastically passed resolutions making American citizenship a requirement for eligibility to future membership.

Employers were quick to see that "English language first" among their workmen meant "safety first" in their plants and "America first" in their city. In both campaigns the community consciousness was aroused to such a degree that the co-operating agencies included city departments, courts, factories and plants, churches, settlements, men's and women's clubs, boy scouts, some labor unions and libraries, while personal visits to the homes of immigrants were organized on a large scale. The results speak for themselves. In Detroit the enrollment of the public evening schools was increased 153 per cent. In Syracuse, although the figures are not yet available, an increased attendance has also been reported. But that is not all—the general interest has stimulated definite constructive action, such as the organization of special citizenship classes in the night schools to which all applicants for citizenship are now being officially referred by the naturalization courts; the development of domestic education work in the homes of immigrants through women's organizations; the payment of a wage bonus by some employers and preference in re-employment and promotion to immigrant employes attending the night schools, and the preparation and free distribution of citizenship manuals.

The promotion of better citizenship, as a function of educational bodies, has also been stimulated in many cities during the year. Among those already heard from are New York, Boston, Trenton, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Hoboken, Pittsburgh, Rochester, Duluth, Haverhill, Philadelphia and St. Louis. Some of these report the establishment of special classes in citizenship, others the adoption of more comprehensive and specialized courses of civic instruction, a few the organization of training courses for teachers of immigrants, and still others the opening of night sessions of the naturalization courts to meet the needs of aliens employed during the day. In New York City and Pittsburgh the boards of education have become so deeply concerned about standardizing methods of instruction that both have issued special bulletins on the subject. "The School and the Immigrant" of the New York City department of education is full of practical suggestions as a hand book for night school teachers of immigrants. "The Study Manual for Evening Schools" of the Pittsburgh board of public education contains syllabi of courses including one for non-English-speaking pupils and another for applicants for citizenship.

Much credit for this definite progress by municipalities is due to the United States Bureau of Education, which, with

the co-operation of the national Americanization committee, has distributed over 135,000 attractively colored "America first" posters printed in seven languages, in which Uncle Sam is depicted as welcoming the immigrant workman to American public schools, American homes and American citizenship. These have been posted in post-offices, industries, schools and in conspicuous places in congested immigrant quarters. "Learn English—attend night school—become a citizen"—"It means a better opportunity, a better home, a better job and a better America" were the slogans used in this nation-wide campaign to secure increased night school attendance and to stimulate interest in American citizenship. The United States Bureau of Education has also established a division on immigrant education which is making a survey of all phases of immigrant education and is co-operating with the public school authorities in our municipalities. The United States Bureau of Naturalization has also fallen in line and is now co-operating with local school boards by providing them with the names of all naturalization applicants.

Some *states* have also stimulated the municipal activities. The New York State department of education now has a specialist on illiteracy, whose function it is to promote English and citizenship classes for immigrants and co-operate with directors of evening schools in the various cities of the state for the adoption of efficient methods of work. An experimental training course for teachers in evening schools of the cities around Albany was so successful that the state normal college has made it a part of its extension teaching. State work along similar lines is now being planned in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

Women's organizations in many cities and states have also entered into the campaign of Americanization. State federations in Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York, Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts and Indiana, have adopted resolutions declaring for a standardized system of teaching English and citizenship to aliens. This carries the work into any city federation each state may have and into educational, civic and other clubs. The New York state federation organized an Americanization department with a committee of nine to take up a definite program of work in all cities of the state and in towns in rural communities wherever possible. The Massachusetts state federation has called a conference for December 3 through its educational department to discuss immigrant education and its recommendations will be extended throughout the state. The New York city federation in a convention on October 29 took up the subject of "teaching Americanism", by the extension of English and citizenship classes for adults and by the formation of junior loyal leagues for children.

Despite the tremendous strides already made, there is still a great deal to be done, especially by municipalities where local needs and local interest must be the determining factors. The first step is education—a common language and the reduction of illiteracy. We must be able to converse with each other if we are to avoid misunderstandings. All of our residents should be able to read our own newspapers — not the foreign language press whose motives are not always for "America first." And when our educational standards are set we must urge our alien residents to become naturalized. Hand in hand with this educational preparation we must set and maintain an American standard of living in all our immigrant districts. The presence of thousands of non-English-speaking or illiterate aliens in our municipalities—large masses of unassimilated humanity, having little or no interest in the life of the community, contributing only to its material development and understanding not at all our institutions, our democracy and our form of government—is a constant danger to the life of the city and the nation. In time of peace, through misrepresentation from irresponsible and questionable sources, they may weaken our institutions, lower our standards and create serious industrial difficulties, while in time of war, as alien enemies, they can do incalculable damage in our munitions plants, in the

maintenance of our railroads and in our preparedness for national defense.

To secure a better citizenship every community needs a co-operative and comprehensive program for the Americanization of its immigrant population. The proper organization of a concerted, aggressive and city-wide campaign can be assured if the following line of work—the main features of which have proven successful in half a dozen cities—is adopted by municipalities. The committee on immigration therefore recommends to each locality the following procedure:

First—Make a quick survey of all local immigration conditions, especially those affecting the industrial, educational and living conditions.

Second—Marshal all municipal agencies coming in contact with the daily life of the immigrant—city officials, chambers of commerce, civic organizations and religious and social forces. Outline definite activities and let each agency do its appointed task through some central clearing house arrangement.

Third—Stimulate existing agencies to greater effort and create new facilities as needed, such as: night classes for instruction in English and citizenship, with the most approved courses and methods of instruction; co-operation between industries and public schools and between the latter and naturalization courts, and domestic education of immigrant mothers to raise standards of living and health conditions in the homes.

Only through the united, co-ordinated effort of the entire community can we hope to secure a united nation out of our many peoples—united in peace and in war—whose one constant effort shall be for America first, last, and all the time.

Following the report of the committee on immigration, Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick, secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service, made some remarks on the subject of civic education, which the editor has asked him to prepare for the April issue.

Dr. Fitzpatrick was followed by President Dabney whose remarks were not transcribed in time to be inserted in this issue. We are hoping to have them for the April number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

Hotel Miami, Thursday, November 18, 1915, 8 p.m.

The subject for discussion at the evening meeting was "Professional Standards for the New Profession of City Manager." It was opened in a suggestive paper by Richard S. Childs, secretary of the National Short Ballot Organization and a vice-president of the National Municipal League. The discussion which was participated in by City Managers Henry M. Waite of Dayton, Gaylord C. Cummin of Jackson, Mich., and Charles E. Ashburner of Springfield, Ohio, was interesting and illuminating. The papers of Messrs. Childs and Waite, together with a summary of the discussion, will be published in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, along with some additional information and data about the city manager movement.

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

Hotel Miami, Friday, November 19, 1915, 10 a.m.

F. S. Spence of Toronto, a member of the Council, in the Chair.

MR. SPENCE: The business of the morning will be a consideration of the report of the committee on municipal program in the form of a model charter and proposed constitutional amendments. The report will be presented by Mr. Foulke, the chairman of the committee.

MR. FOULKE: The report of the committee has been printed in a paper book entitled "Municipal Home Rule and a Model City Charter." It contains the tentative drafts of the sections dealing with the constitutional provisions, the council, nominations and elections, preferential ballot, recall, initiative, referendum, proportional representation, city manager, administrative departments, civil service board, financial provisions

and franchises. This has been widely distributed through the mails and at this meeting of the League.

The committee presented its first report to the twentieth annual meeting of the League at Baltimore, November 20, 1914. The paper book contains the revisions made at subsequent meetings of the committee held in April and September. The text of the constitutional provisions was reported a year ago and is practically in complete shape. The provisions relating to the initiative and referendum need some further amendments and will probably have to be referred back to the committee for further consideration. The finance provisions have been considered by the committee both by correspondence and in open meeting, and were also the subject of discussion at yesterday's luncheon. We are not prepared to report on these in full. The franchise provisions were prepared by the committee on franchises and have not yet been passed upon fully and formally by the municipal program committee. It is our expectation to take them up at a subsequent meeting of the committee to be held late in December, at which time we hope to complete our work.

The first sections to be completed were those dealing with the administrative service, providing that the city manager shall be the chief executive officer of the city. This section has been generally approved by the committee and has been in complete shape for over a year. The same statement may be made with regard to the civil service provisions.

There are also a few supplementary reports and general provisions that will have to be added, and the municipal court provisions have not yet been considered. We ask that those portions of the report which have been agreed upon by the committee be considered and accepted by the League. The other sections we ask to have referred back again for final consideration.

With regard to the Hare system of proportional representation, that has been made a portion of the appendix as an alternative form of election. The committee has also postponed for further consideration the sections relating to preferential voting with the thought and expectation that they be printed in the appendix with the proportional representation provisions as an alternative method.

I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, that those present at the Dayton meeting of the National Municipal League on November 19, 1915, after discussion, approve the constitutional home rule provisions recommended by the committee on municipal program.

The constitutional home rule provisions were summarized by Professor Hatton, who pointed out that they represented an effort to reverse the usual policy of limited powers and were designed to give to the city complete power to carry on its affairs without further reference to the state legislature. After a brief discussion and some questions, Mr. Foulke's resolution unanimously prevailed.

The legislative sections were summarized by Mr. Woodruff, who explained that the intention of the committee was to lodge the policy-determining functions in the hands of the municipal legislature, leaving to the city manager all questions of administration or policy-execution. After a brief discussion as to the size of the council, it being the opinion of those who participated that larger councils were needed in the larger cities, City Manager Waite raised the question as to whether the provision requiring the reading of a measure on three separate days before its passage was advisable. This led to an interesting discussion and resulted in amending the provision so as to make it two days instead of three.

A motion similar to that relating to the constitutional provisions was then made with regard to the council section, and was unanimously carried.

The sections on nominations and elections were similarly approved.

Mr. Foulke: I will ask Professor Hatton to report on the question of preferential voting and proportional representation.

PROFESSOR HATTON: At a meeting of the committee, the largest meeting which the committee had held in some time, it was decided by a vote of 10 to 2, to recommend preferential voting and to put in the appendix a provision providing for proportional representation, with a statement that those who desired to use proportional representation could follow that plan. In view of the doubt which has arisen in the minds of some of the members of the committee and some of the active members of the league as to the ultimate effectiveness of the preferential ballot, I move that the sections relating to them be referred back to the committee for further consideration, with the thought that possibly the committee may see its way clear to putting both the preferential ballot and the proportional representation provisions in the appendix as alternative forms for the consideration of charter commissions, without any formal recommendation in behalf of either.

This motion seconded by Mr. Foulke was carried.

Mr. Woodruff raised the question as to whether other forms should be suggested, and that subject on a motion was referred to the committee.

MR. FOULKE: A number of verbal suggestions have been made with regard to the provisions relating to the recall, initiative and referendum, and I think that they ought to be referred back to the committee for possible conclusion. At the same time I believe it would be a desirable thing if there were an expression of opinion by those present on the general principles involved.

MR. WEIL: I think we are going a little too rapidly. I am opposed to recommending that the recall be inserted in a model charter. It might be put in as an alternative provision if desired. Why not give the city manager plan a fair trial? Why fix upon that plan these other provisions which in many sections of the country would be considered ultra-radical and thereby injure the questions we want to have taken up by the cities of our country.

MR. FESLER: I was one of the members of the committee that voted not to put the recall sections in the charter proper but in the appendix. I know some people are strongly opposed to the 15 per cent plan and would vote against putting it in the charter. I know there has been a great deal of objection by many of the voters in different cities. I think if we incorporate that in the measure, we would lose votes for our plan.

MR. BURNHAM: I think it would strengthen this model charter measurably if the recall provision were made optional, because there is a difference of opinion in various sections of the country, especially in the east.

After some further discussion the principle involved in the recall, initiative and referendum was approved by a large majority.

Then the motion to refer these sections back for further amendment was adopted.

The sections relating to the administrative service, including the provisions relating to the city manager, were presented by Mr. Childs. These were unanimously approved by those present.

MR. FOULKE: The sections relating to civil service are now up for consideration. I wish to say that these provisions have been very carefully worked out, first by a sub-committee and then by the whole committee, and have been thoughtfully considered by those who have had long experience in such matters. I believe they are ready for approval, so I make a motion of approval similar to that with regard to the other sections, although I think that the note with regard to an alternative provision may very appropriately be omitted.

LIEUTENANT SHAW: I have prepared a draft of a civil service bill providing for a large measure of efficiency and I should like to have this considered by the committee.

A motion was thereupon made that the civil service provisions together with Lieutenant Shaw's draft of an act be referred back to the committee for further consideration.

The franchise provisions were also referred back to the committee.

MR. WOODRUFF: I move that after the committee on municipal program has completed its draft (which I believe will be at the December meeting) that it be instructed to have the same printed and a copy sent to each member of the League of record at that date for an expression of approval or disapproval, with the understanding that the committee may fix a time limit for the expression of opinion, to publish the fact of approval or disapproval.

This was carried unanimously.

MR. HART: I desire to offer the following resolution: *Be it resolved*, by the twenty-first annual meeting of the National Municipal League, that the very hearty and sincere thanks of the league be hereby extended to the Greater Dayton Association, to the city of Dayton and its officials, and particularly to the Rev. D. Frank Garland, for the cordial hospitality and unfailing courtesies which have made delightful our stay in this city; and to the newspapers of Dayton for the extensive and intelligent publicity which they have given to the meetings of the League.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

MR. FOULKE: I wish to say now on retiring from the presidency of this league, that I doubt very much if any one here realizes the untiring service rendered to this league by our secretary, Mr. Woodruff. It takes an unusually well regulated mind to keep in order all the different things coming up for consideration and to bring order out of chaos such as this; he is doing a gigantic work on the subject of municipal affairs; he has done so much for the league, he has succeeded in keeping us together, he has done all the hard work for the league and is the real power in it; the president is very ornamental and a nice thing to have, but the real efficient work is done by the secretary. I felt I must and wanted to say this much for Mr. Woodruff, with whom I have co-operated in this work, and I never co-operated with any one that gave me as much pleasure in doing so as Mr. Woodruff. I never knew a better man in such an office than the secretary of the National Municipal League.[1]

THE CHAIRMAN: The meeting is now declared closed, and the 21st session of the National Municipal League adjourned.

CIVIC SECRETARIES CONFER

Progressive ideas of management for civic organizations was the keynote of the meeting of the civic secretaries' committee held at Dayton, November 17–18, in connection with the conference of the National Municipal League. A fundamental difference of conception of the functions of city clubs developed early in the discussion. Two types were represented: Militant organizations working aggressively for definite civic reforms, and purely discussional clubs, organized simply with a view to developing enlightened public opinion upon civic questions. At the extreme left in militancy is the Cincinnati city club. This organization has 400 members, pledged against partisan city government. They pay no dues, the club being financed by contributions. No paid secretary is employed, but a number of active civic committees are maintained, and frequent luncheon programs are held, at which public questions are discussed. In the opinion of Mr. Marx, the secretary, the membership of the club has been considerably limited by the radical militant attitude of the organization, but he believes that it is better to have 400 civicly aggressive members than to have 4,000 men who merely discuss questions without definite action.

Militancy is the keynote also of the New York city club. It carries on its fights for civic righteousness by means of newspaper and pamphlet publicity, aiming not only to present facts, but to draw definite conclusions, which the club backs up by vigorous legislative campaigns. The stand taken by the club is determined in every case by the board of directors, to whom the reports of the committees are submitted. In

[1] This paragraph is inserted at the special request of Mr. Foulke.

some cases referendum votes of the members are taken. In all cases the club has stood by the decision of the majority, and the militant attitude of the organization has not apparently injured its usefulness. It has at present 1,350 members of whom 200 to 250 are active on committees. The civic work of the club is financed by special donations, while the club house features are supported by dues.

The Woman's city club of Chicago is another militant organization. It has a membership of 3,000 with dues of $2 a year. Its purpose is the promotion of efficiency in municipal housekeeping. Similar in scope is the Woman's city club of Cincinnati, which has recently been organized with dues of $1. It already has a membership of 1,400. Both of these organizations have paid secretaries.

The Milwaukee city club is also among the militants. Its 30 civic committees take definite stands with regard to pending questions and work actively to promote these ends. The club has recently experienced a marked loss in membership, in spite of the fact that its civic work has gone forward with considerable success.

Half way between the aggressive attitude of the foregoing organizations and the impartial stand taken by the discussion clubs comes the Chicago city club. This organization does its work mainly through the search for and the publication of impartial truth with regard to civic questions. Usually no aggressive stand is taken with regard to pending issues, although this rule is not invariable. At the time when the organization went into its new club house the membership increased from 2,300 to 2,500. Recently, however, it has fallen off to the previous figure and the hard times have been evident in the large percentage of delinquency in dues. The dues are $20 a year.

Radically different from the militant theory of city club work is the point of view taken by the Boston city club. A. L. Winship, the secretary of that club, stated that, contrary to the attitude taken by the Cincinnati club, he would rather have 6,000 men into whose minds he could introduce progressive ideas with regard to civic questions than have 400 members aggressively engaged in reform. The idea of the Boston club is to present both sides of pending civic questions and to bring its wide membership together frequently under auspices stimulating civic discussion. The success of this policy is indicated by the fact that, although the club recently raised its membership limit from 5,000 to 6,000 on the occasion of going into the new club house, it has still a waiting list of 1,500. The dues are $15. There is no trouble with delinquencies.

Baltimore has followed Boston in its attitude toward civic questions. Growing out of a recognized need for public vigilance on public questions, the club determined after investigation to confine its committee activity to the publication of facts with regard to pending issues. Club rooms are maintained and frequent luncheon programs held. During the past year the club has been able to secure only enough new members to replace those who have resigned. The Philadelphia city club has recently altered its policy from one of aggression to one of discussion.

In St. Louis the aggressive and discussion functions are divided between the city club, which is not militant, and the civic league, which is. The club, with membership dues of $20 has a waiting list. Two speakers a week address the members. The civic league takes care of the active committee work. It has been supported by dues of varying amounts, but in view of a recent falling off in the large contributions, it has determined to establish a flat $5 membership.

A civic organization reaching the laboring elements of the population was described by Mr. Burchard of Chicago. It is a community council, under whose auspices citizens of various nativities from a congested Chicago district gather in a public high school to discuss public questions.

Methods of developing membership

for civic organizations came up for discussion. The methods used by commercial organizers for stimulating membership were recommended by Mr. Baldwin, of St. Louis, although he deprecated the employment of professional membership stimullators. Copious newspaper publicity and direct personal contact with the persons whom it is sought to enlist in club work are the secrets of success. Circular letters, in the opinion of Mr. Baldwin, are of little value in securing membership. Mr. Winship, of Boston, described how his organization had raised $400,000 within two weeks for its new club house. The ten biggest and busiest men available were selected to head teams of canvassers. These teams were manned by 90 men distinguished for their personal magnetism. The membership of the club was divided into 10 lists and every member was interviewed by a member of one of the canvassing teams. Not only was this campaign signally successful in raising the necessary funds, but it served to galvanize interest in the work of the club.

Baltimore, according to Mr. Steele, has secured all of its present membership by means of circular letters, carefully drafted with a view to getting attention, interest, desire, decision and habit. The club intends to continue this method through the services of an additional member of the staff who is to be skilled in salesmanship. He is to visit the members of the club personally and get from each a list of possible prospects. To these prospects a series of carefully written letters is to be sent out, signed by the respective members who have suggested the names. Ultimately it is hoped to enlist the personal services of these members in bringing in those prospects who have not been secured through the circulars.

"What is the relation of each of our civic organizations to the leadership for progress in our cities, and what are the definite means of co-operation in leadership," was the question discussed by the civic secretaries at their second session. Mr. Baldwin, of St. Louis, proposed the question. He described the way in which the 300 civic, fraternal, and nationalist organizations of St. Louis are grouped in councils, according to their general character, which in turn are represented in a conference of federations which acts as a correlator of civic activity. By this means unanimity of action is secured on public questions.

In Cleveland, according to Mayo Fesler, the political parties have become real advocates of the public interests. Labeled though they are with national party titles, these organizations have been driven by popular interest to the intelligent consideration of local issues. The feature of the last municipal campaign was the interest shown by popular audiences in the discussion of municipal issues.

The reason for this new spirit in Cleveland, according to Professor Hatton, is the growing socialization of Cleveland. Until recently the American public has been distinguished by its individualism. Where, as in Cleveland, big, gripping issues have had to be fought out over long spaces of time, city social consciousness has developed and political parties have begun to fulfil their normal functions. Big issues are required to overcome democracy's distrust of leadership and to give the general welfare the power to prevail over private interests.

In New York, according to Mr. Childs, the co-ordination of city leadership, which has been formal in St. Louis, has been accomplished by agreements among civic leaders, through which good men and measures have had the backing of public sentiment.

Civic organizations should labor to make themselves unnecessary according to Mr. Hart, of Milwaukee. Too often city clubs have been performing functions for which governmental agencies were created, but which because of the languor of public opinion have still to be taken care of by private activity.

A concrete result of the Conference was the development of plans for co-operation in securing civic speakers for city club meetings. The secretary of the

committee, Mr. Hart, of Milwaukee, has been instructed to get in touch with the leaders of civic and social progress in the United States and other countries with a view to ascertaining when they expect to travel through the United States, and with a view to facilitating arrangements between them and the civic organizations which form a chain across the continent.

HORNELL HART,
Secretary.

MUNICIPAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

As the result of a casual but interesting get-together meeting at the Baltimore convention of the National Municipal League, when representatives from a number of efficiency organizations were present, a committee was appointed by the executive committee to arrange a similar meeting this year during the sessions of the Municipal League. Through the efforts of F. A. Cleveland, C. O. Dustin, and Lent D. Upson, letters were written to all efficiency bureaus in the country, and representatives were present from the Akron bureau of municipal research, Chicago bureau of efficiency, Cincinnati and Dayton bureaus. In addition, there attended the dinner as guests of the Dayton bureau a dozen or more persons who had previously been connected with public efficiency bureaus, including two city managers and several other city officers.

The dinner was very informal, and speech-making was curtailed by the evening session of the league. However, the members present were able during the days of the convention to hold a number of "anteroom meetings" for the discussion of "what next" in public service. This informal program included the possibility of civic organizations becoming a larger factor for good government; the making available of governmental methods in accounting, reporting, etc., to small cities at a reasonable cost; publicity of local experience with common problems; the training of city managers and other public officers; the possibilities of field service for college graduates, undergraduates, etc.

It is hoped that next year the convention will be used not only by bureau men, but also by municipal reference librarians, efficiency engineers attached to municipal civil service commissions, and others in the municipal field, as a place to shake hands with the men with whom they have been corresponding for the year. To this end perhaps a special program can be arranged, dealing with some of the more technical problems of city government which would be of interest to this group.

L. D. U.

OHIO CIVIL SERVICE ASSOCIATION

The first annual meeting of the Ohio Civil Service Association was held November 17, at Dayton, just prior to the meeting of the National Municipal League. Delegates and civil service commissioners from various parts of the state were present.

A brief address on the principles of the merit system and a history of the movement in Ohio was made by President Charles B. Wilby of Cincinnati. A report on the present status of the law and its operation in the two years since the constitutional amendment was adopted, was made by Mayo Fesler, secretary, of Cleveland. William Dudley Foulke, former United States civil service commissioner and president of the National Municipal League, discussed the defects of the Ohio law and the model civil service law. Mr. Foulke expressed strong opposition to the provisions of the model law requiring the appointment of civil service commissioners after competitive examinations, and requiring a trial before a trial board in case of dismissal from the service. Mr. Foulke made a vigorous plea for administrative responsibility in the service.

A resolution was offered, urging the Ohio Association to go on record against the adoption by the National Civil Service Reform League of the proposed model law. After some discussion, action on the resolution was postponed after assurances were given that that league would not take final action on the model law at its December meeting. A committee consisting of Charles B. Wilby of Cincinnati, C. H. Bryson of Athens, Mayor Charles

A. Stolberg of Canton, Charles T. Warner of Columbus, and Mayo Fesler of Cleveland was appointed to consider debated questions in connection with the model civil service law and express to the national organization the views of the Ohio association on that subject.

Dr. Z. B. Campbell, president of the state civil service commission, K. McKinley, its secretary, George T. Keyes, secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, and others joined in the discussion of the civil service situation in Ohio.

M. F.

The City Managers' Association, the Ohio Civil Service Association and the Ohio Municipal League met in Dayton the same week with the League, and there was a mingling of the delegates and members and an exchange of views which was highly helpful.

The significant features of the City Managers' Association will be touched upon in the April issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, which will be largely a city manager number. There was a joint meeting with the city managers on Thursday evening to which reference has already been made, and which was one of the most profitable sessions of the whole meeting.

The Ohio Municipal League discussed the question of city revenues and the Smith one per cent law[1] which is one of the pressing issues of the state. A comprehensive plan of action for the ensuing year to secure statutory reform of its tax system was discussed and agreed upon.

The principal speaker at the Ohio Civil Service Reform Association was President Foulke of the National Municipal League, who discussed the Ohio law and incidentally the question of removals from office. There was a highly profitable round table discussion of the civil service situation in Ohio.

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, vol. iv, pp. 255, 454.